







AUGUSTVS.

OR,

*An Essay of those  
Meanes and Counsels,  
whereby the Common-  
wealth of R o m e  
was altered, and  
reduced unto a  
Monarchy.*  
(::)

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VIRG. *Æneid.* 6.  
*Tu regere imperio Populos  
Romanos incutepto:  
Hæ tibi erunt artes.*

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## The Epistle

*Satisfaction, is now  
by his consent made  
common, & for pub-  
like view. It con-  
taines in it, a nar-  
ration of the greatest  
change, that ever  
happened in the  
Common-wealth and  
state of Rome. Yet  
not a naked Story  
nor a bare Narra-  
tion onely; but a  
briefe*

---

## Dedicatorie.

---

briefe touch of all  
such Counsailes, and  
arts of Empire, by  
the meanes whereof  
it was effected; Such  
as could either be col-  
lected out of the Au-  
thors of those times,  
or gathered vpon a-  
ny probable conie-  
ctures, or grounds of  
State. In which he  
is so farre from hope

## The Epistle

of satisfying others,  
that as yet hee hath  
not satisfied himself,  
and cannot but be  
sensible, that he hath  
drawne this Picture  
of AUGUSTVS with  
too much shadow.  
Such as it is, I conse-  
crate to you, and to  
your perusall.

The many obliga-  
tions which you haue  
upon

## Dedicatorie.

Upon the Author,  
may make just chal-  
lenge for you unto  
any thing of his per-  
formance. Were it  
not so, that liberall  
Humanitie wherewith  
you have vouch-  
safed for his sake,  
to reflect on mee,  
is of it selfe suffi-  
cient to embolden  
mee to this presump-  
tion,

---

# The Epistle.

---

*tion, and to subscribe  
my selfe*

Your obliged Ser-  
vant at Com-  
mand,

**HENRY SEILE.**

---

**AV.**

---





AVGVSTVS.

OR,

AN ESSAY

OF THOSE MEANES

and Counsailes, by which

the *Common-wealth* of

R O M E was altered,

and reduced unto a

*Monarchy.*

I.



THEY which  
have hereto-  
fore written  
of *Common-  
wealths,*

*wealths*, have divided them into three Species: The government of the *King*; secondly, of the *Nobles*; and thirdly of the *People*. Eyther of these is againe subdivided into *good* and *evill*: The *evill* forme being onely the *good* corrupted; The *good* nothing else, but the *bad* refined. So is the government of a *King*, divided into a *Monarchy*, and a *Tyranny*: Of the *Nobles*, into an *Aristocracy*, and an *Oligarchy*: Of the *People* into a *Republicke*, and a *Democracy*. All these, as well in generall, as in the severall couplets, have

a secret Inclination to change the one into the other, and to make a *Pythagoricall* transmigration (as it were) into each others being. I need not stand on many instances. The Commonwealth of *Rome* (into whose stories whosoever looketh, will judge them rather to containe the acts of the whole World, then a particular Nation) will serve for all. ROMULVS at the foundation of his City, reserved unto himselfe the chiefe Sovereignty, leaving it entire to his successors. NUMA, ANCVS, TVLLIVS, TARQVINIVS PRISCVS,

PRISCVS, and SERVIVS, governed themselves so moderately, the people so justly: that they affected not *Tyranny*; nor the Commons liberty. They appeared more desirous to fill the *Coffers* of their Subjects, then their owne *Treasuries*: And when necessity compelled them to a Taxe; they rather seemed to sheere their sheepe, then fleece them.

## II.

**B**VT SUPERBVS, a man of insupportable vices, having by violence enthronized himselfe in that Chayre

Chayre of State, which had not his ambitious spirit beene impatient of delay, would have beene his rightfull Inheritance; made his gouernment answerable to his entrance, cruell and bloudy. How many men, eminent as well by their owne vertue, as their Parents Nobility, did hee cut off? How many did he for no cause promote, to make their fall the more remarkable? What part of the *Senate* was free from slaughter? What corner of the *City* from lamentations? Yet this was not all.

all. The miserable Romans were visited with Three plagues at once. Pride in the Father, Cruelty in the Mother, and Lust insatiable in their sonne. SEXTVS; a true Copie of the old Originals. Either of these had beene more then enough, to exercise the peoples patience. But meeting all at one time, it seemed that nothing could now bee added to the wretchednesse of the one, and the wickednesse of the other. BARRVS, a man <sup>named</sup> fatall to Tyrants, did easily perswade the Commons to shake off this yoake.



yoake, For they, aswell  
desirous of *Novelties*, as  
sensible of *Oppressions*, had  
long since murmured at  
the present State; and  
wanted nothing but a  
head, to breake into actu-  
all rebellion. So the *pea-*  
*ple* got the *freedom*, and  
the *Kings* lost the *Domi-*  
*nion* of the City. (*An. V. C.*  
*244.*)

III.

**B**RUTVS although hee  
wanted no faire title  
to the *Crowne*; yet eyther  
perceiuing how odious  
the name of *King* was  
growne;

growne; or perhaps willing to be rather the first *Gonsull*, then the last *Prince*; instituted a new forme of Government. Wherein the sway of all, was referred to the *Fathers* of the *City*: Out of whom two were annually chosen as chiefe of the rest. Herein certainly hee dealt very advisedly. For had he sought to confirme himselfe in the *Kingdome*, what could men judge, but that, not love to his Country was the cause that stirred him to take Armes; but desire of Rule. Againe, besides that



that secure *privacie*, is to  
bee preferred before ha-  
zardous *Royaltie*; what  
hope had hee to keepe the  
seate long, having by his  
owne example taught the  
people, both the *Theorie*  
and *practise* of *Rebellion*.  
Vnder this new *Aristocracy*  
the *Romā* affaires succeeded  
so prosperously, their do-  
minions were enlarged so  
infinitely: that it may well  
bee questioned; whether  
the *Roman* fortune caused  
their greatnes; or their va-  
lour cōmanded their for-  
tune. For the Governors  
not seeking wealth but  
honour, or not their owne  
wealth,

wealth but the publike;  
did so demean themselves  
both in peace and warre:  
that there was betweene  
all, a vertuous emulation;  
who should most benefit  
his Countrey.

## IV.

**T**HIS happinesse was  
too great to continue  
long. The people had as  
yet no written *Statutes*:  
*Custom* bearing most  
sway; and the rest of the  
*Law*, locked up in the  
breast of the *Judges*. To  
avoid such inconveni-  
ences as might hence ensue,  
there

there were some men,  
 knowne to be as sound in  
 judgement, as honest in  
 their actions, deputed by  
 a generall Commission to  
 take an abstract of the  
*Gracian lawes*: according  
 to the tenor whereof, the  
 people framed their lives;  
 the Judges, their sentences.  
 Here followed the *Oli-*  
*garchy* or *Decemvirate*  
*State of Rome*; (*An. V. C.*  
*304.*) but long it lasted  
 not. For these new *Lords*  
 joyning forces together,  
 made themselves: rich  
 with the spoyle of the  
 people: not caring by what  
 unlawfull meanes, they  
 could

could purchase either profit or pleasure. APPIVS CLAVDIVS, one of the *Decemviri*, was the break-neck of this government. Hee, unmindfull of LVCERTIA and the *Tarquins*, lusted after VIRGINIA; a woman though of lowe Condition, yet such a woman, in whom beauty and vertue strove for the preheminencie. She was, in an open assembly to prevent the dishonor of his child, slaine by her Father: APPIVS forced to make away himselfe, in prison; and the rest of that *Magistracie* abdicating

ding their Offices, the *Consuls* were for a time restored.

V.

**T**HE *People* fleshed with this victory, & calling to minde how their *Ancestors* had in like manner banished the *Kings*; began to know their owne strength: and stomacked it exceedingly, that they on whose shoulders the frame of the State was supported, should bee so much under the Command of others; that they who were *Lords* abroad, should

should be below the condition of *Slaves* at home. Hereupon they raise a tumult, under the conduct of their *Tribune*, CANNULIUS. Nor could they by any persuasions be induced to lay downe *Armies*, till they had obtained a *Decree*, That from thenceforth, the *Nobles* and the *Commons*, might promiscuously be married. And this was the first step to the *Republique*. (*An. V C. 308.*) The gaining this new *Privilege*, put them in possibility of obtaining greater. They now sue to be capable of the

the *Consulship*. The *Fa-  
thers* consulting of this  
demand, wisely fore-saw,  
that to grant their Petiti-  
on, and to deny it was  
alike dangerous. For were  
it utterly dashed, it was  
to bee feared the *People*  
would againe forsake the  
*Citty*, and yet make their  
stay more insolent and in-  
supportable, if it were  
granted. *C. Claudius*, one  
who by his honourable  
behaviour, was by both  
parties had in an equall  
degree of Reverence;  
quickly proposed a mid-  
dle course, whereby the  
fury of the multitude  
B might



might be appeased, without blemish to the *Consular* dignity. He constituted 6. Annuall Officers, equally chosen out of the *People*, and the *Nobles*: calling them *Tribuni Militū Cōsularis potestatis*. (*A.V.C.* 310). This Office continued, but not without many *Interstitiūms*, the space of 78. yeares. Which time expired, and some experience being had of the *peoples* government; the *Orders* of the *Senate* did decree, that one of the *Consuls* should frō thenceforth be chosen by, and out of the *Commons*; that they



they should be capable  
of all *Magistracies*; yea  
even of the *Dictatorship*.  
(*An. V.C. 388.*) So that  
now vertue was as speedy  
a Ladder, to climbe un-  
to Honours, as *Nobility of*  
*Birth*: and a good man as  
much respected as a great.  
A rare felicity of the  
times.

VI.

THE People being thus  
mixt with the No-  
bles, as well in marriages,  
as honours; one would

have thought that this *Common-wealth*, being thus equally poysed had been immortall. But as in the *naturall body*, there can be no exact and *arithmetically* proportion of the humors and elements, without some *predominancie*: So in the *body politique*, can there bee no equall mixture of *Plebeians* and *Patri-tians*, without the supremacy of the one or the other. The *people* had presently after the institution of the *Consuls*, raysed a *Commotion*; and withdrew themselves into *Mount Aventine*. Nor could

could they bee intreated to returne into the *Citty*, till there were granted unto them peculiar *Officers*, called *Tribuni Plebis*, or *Protectors* of the *Commons*. (*A.V.C. 260.*) These being not long after by the common *Councell*, pronounced to bee *Sacrosancti*, and inviolable; began to heave the *Popular State* too high, and thrust the *Aristocraticall* too low; not regarding to lose the love of the one, so they might get the applause of the other. Inasmuch, that matters of judgement were

were devolved from the *Fathers* to the *Commons*; and the authority of the *Senate*, trode under foote by the *People*. Nay they proceeded so farre, That *MARIVS* being *Tribune*, threatned to send *COTTA* the *Consull* unto Prison. And *SULPITIVS* in the same *Office*, made the *Consuls* forsake the *Senate-house*: and slew one of their sonnes, whose heeles were not nimble enough, to flye away. And now were the *Romans* governed by that forme of *Rule*, than which there is no lower. So that as well

well by an inevitable necessity in *Nature*, as the ordinary course of *Policies*; there must be a Recession to the first, and *Monarchicall* Jurisdiction. For questionlesse it fareth many times with a *Common-wealth*, as with the *Sunne*: which runneth through all the signes of the *Zodiack*, till it return to the place where its motion first began. And the *Platonicke* yeare of reducing all things to the same beginning, continuance, and period; how false forever in the bookes of *Nature*, is in some sort true

in the change of Govern-  
ment.

## VII.

**T**He way downe-Hill  
is easie and ordinary  
but to ascend unto the top  
requireth both wit to  
frame steps, & courage to  
give the attempt. So was  
it here also with the *Romā's*.  
They had naturally, & al-  
most insensibly falne from  
a *Monarchy*, to a *Populacy*,  
or *Democracy*. But to ascēd  
frō a *Populacy* to a *Monar-*  
*chy*, required many steps &  
degrees in many, much in-  
dustry



dustrie in al. *Marinus* & *Sylla*, well skilled in feeding the humors of the people, were the first that attempted, & severally mounted to such a height of *Cōmād*, as never durst any promise to thē, nor they hope for themselves. *Marinus* was of an harsh & sterne nature, equally cruel to the enemies in war, & the people in peace: one whose birth the *Rom.* might have had just cause to curse, had hee not saved thē from the *Cimbri*. *Sylla* was one whose cariage none could enogh cōmēd before, or sufficiently cōdemn after his prosperity.

A man, whose *Peace* was farre more bloudy than his *Warres*; a better *Subiect*, than a *Prince*. These two gave way each to other, and both to death.

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### VIII.

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**N**Ext these, as wel in faction and designes, as bloud and alliance, succeeded **CÆSAR** and **POMPEY**: Two men never truly paraleld, since their owne times. **CÆSAR** had a wit to invent so pregnant, a heart to execute so



so stout, and to both a Fortune so favourable; that hee durst undertake what no man dared, and his performances commonly were answerable to his undertakings. POMPEY, a man greater than his owne or his friends wishes; had triumphed over all the parts of the knowne world: and could hee but have brooked an equall, hee had never met superiour. Had these two lived in divers Ages, or exercised their valour on the common Enemy; the world had beene too little to yeeld them employments.

ment. But turning their forces one against the other, *POMPEY* overthrowne in the *Field*, was basely murdered in *Egypt*: and *CÆSAR* victoriously Conquerour in *Thessalie*, was barbarously massacred in the *Capitol*. And though none of these foure Worthies, could settle the *Monarchie* in himselfe; yet this shall bee to their eternall memory recorded, that they first opened the passage to others, and first mooved the stone, which rowling along tumbled the *People* out of the *Government*.

IX.

**A**FTER the overthrow  
of POMPEY, & death  
of CÆSAR, the Common-  
wealth might have reco-  
vered Liberty, if either  
CÆSAR had left no heire,  
and POMPEY no Chil-  
dren: or rather if ANTO-  
NIUS, a man of an unquiet  
and turbulent spirit, had  
not begun new troubles.  
For hee, knowing the af-  
fection of the Common  
people, unto young Oc-  
TAVIUS, CÆSARS heire:  
and

and hearing the continuall report of his approach to *Rome* for his Inheritance ; did by *Decree* of *Senate* restore *SEXTVS* the sonne of *POMPEY* to his blood and honours. Hoping that they two, inheriting their Fathers hatreds, would like Pellets in a Boyes Pot-gun, drive out each other ; and so he might remaine *Lord* of the whole. But young *OCTAVIUS*, was too old to be so fetcht over : and had moreover more desire to revenge his Fathers death on *BRUTVS* and *CASSIUS* , than turne him-

himselfe upon an enemy,  
that neither had done, nor  
could doe him any hurt.  
At his first entry into  
*Rome*, hee declared him-  
selfe **CÆSARS** heire;  
though some regarding  
more his welfare than his  
honour, dissuaded him  
from it. His retinue at  
his entrance was but  
small, his behaviour gen-  
tle and courteous: So  
that all had cause to love  
him, none to feare him.  
His first businesse was to  
**ANTONIVS**, then posses-  
sed of all **CÆSARS** estate.  
His words as modest, as  
his Petition just. **ANTO-**

**N**IES answered somewhat churlish, forbidding him to meddle in matters of *State*, that hee was too young to take upon him the *Name* of *CÆSAR*, and so dismissed him unsatisfied.

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X.

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**A**VGVSTVS (for by that name wee meane to call him, though hee was not yet so called) perceiving that **ANTHONIES** answer, though in shew but a *Delay*, was in effect



a *Deniall*: insinuated into the acquaintance of CICERO, then potent among the Senators, and a capital Enemy of ANTHONY; by meanes whereof the *Lords of the Senate*, began to cast great affection towards him. Next in a solemne Oration to the *People*, he let them know, how he intended to have distributed his Fathers wealth among them; and how ANTONIVS did unjustly detain it from them both. Certainly there is not any thing prevaileth sooner with the ignoble men, than hope of gaine. No  
sooner

sooner had he finished his speeches, and given away that to them which hee thought impossible to get for himselfe; but all was in a tumult. None was so sparing of his words, but hee had some curse in store for ANTONIVS: Every one vowing the destruction of that man; whom they supposed to deprive them of A V G V S T V S Donative.



XI.

**I**N this hurly burly AN-  
THONY quits the  
Towne, and is by the ge-  
nerall voyce of both hou-  
ses, declared an enemy to  
the State. An army is gi-  
ven to HIRCIVS & PAN-  
SA then *Consuls*: AVGV-  
STVS aged but xviii. yeres,  
being proclaimed *Impera-*  
*tor*, and made head of the  
League against the com-  
mon foe. AVGVSTVS, as  
he loved not to bee absent  
from a necessary warre;  
so

so hee alwayes used to reserve himselfe from the dangers of it: and therefore he committed the whole enterprize unto the Consuls. Well knowing, that though the Officers and soldiers took most paines to get the Victory; yet would the honor of it be referred to him, as *Imperator*. Whereas, if any thing fell out to the Army, not well; his beeing a *Non-agent* in the busines, would bring his honor off without staine. The Consuls therefore proceed in the warre against *Anthony*: who seeing little possibility

ty

ty of prevailing, resolved to sell the losse of his own liberty, and his soldiers lives at a deare rate. And indeed the fortune of the day was so equally shared, that as the *Consuls* might boast of the vanquishment of ANTONY; So ANTONY might triumph in the death of the *Consuls*.

XII.

**A**VOURVS now had as much as he could desire, more than he expected; a populous Army

at

at his service. He therefore applyes himselfe so to them, that giving that among them which he had in present, and promising them greater favours, according as his fortune and their valour should advance him: he bound the unto him in an eternall bond of allegiance; and made them the first step by which he ascended the *Royalty*. The *Lords* of *Rome* hearing of the yong mans fortune, thought it best to strangle these hopes even in their Cradles: and to that end, Decree the honour of overcomming

comming ANTONY, not  
to belong unto AVGV-  
STVS, but to D. BRVTVS;  
for whose defence (being  
besieged by ANTONY in  
*Matina*) their Army had  
bin levied. Nor did they  
thinke this frost of unex-  
pected unkinknesse, suffi-  
cient to nip the blossome  
of his hopes: but they de-  
nyed him the *Consulship*.  
These harsh proceedings  
compelled AVGVSTVS,  
his honour now lying at  
the stake, to enter *Rome*  
as *Conquerour*; and force  
the *Fathers* to grant him  
his desires. Having thus  
gotten what for the time  
hee

he aymed at, he generally shewed himselfe gratefull to all, and particularly to some of the Souldiers: paying them what was behind by promise; and openly protesting that without their ayde hee durst not have adventured into the *Capitoll*. So by keeping his day with the *Military men*; and shewing his Noble and generous Nature, in a thankfull Commemoration of their service, hee added stronger bonds to such as were already his owne; and won many dayly to his side, which before were  
eyther



cyther *Neutrall*, or Ad-  
versaries.

XIII.

**A**NTONY in the meane  
time was not idle;  
but knowing that *LEPI-*  
*DVS* was beyond the  
Mountaines with a puis-  
sant Army, he posted thi-  
ther: and so farre prevail-  
led with the Soldiers, that  
he was admitted into the  
Campe; where the *Ge-*  
*nerall* entertained him  
with all expressions of  
love and welcome. AN-

C

T O N Y



TONY perceiving the facile nature of *Lepidus*, soone perswaded him to leade his forces into *Italy*: promising him no lesse than the Lordship of the world, if he durst but shew his face to the *Romans*. *Augustus* having continual newes of this combinatiō, and fearing much the prowesse of *Antony*, now strengthened; conceived no cause so fitting and convenient to his ends, as to joyne friendship, and to enter into confederacy with them. (*A.V.C. 710.*) And this he did, not for any good will to eyther, but

but because being destitute of meanes to resist them, and also to revenge the death of his Father Irvys, which hee much laboured; he might with their forces oppresse CASSINS and M. BRUTUS and after as occasion fell out, dealt with them being severed.

XXIV.

THIS League was solemnly confirmed by a bloudy Prescription immediately following. Wherin

be revenged on their *enemies*, they betrayed their *friends*. A lamentable and ruthfull time, good and bad, rich and poore, being alike subject to the slaughter. Now was the time of IULIUS CÆSARS Government, thought to be the golden age: and every one began to curse BRUTVS and CASSIUS as the Authors of these present miseries: whom they but lately honoured as the Restorers of the *Commonwealth*. Nay the very *Kings* were deemed tolerable; and such as lived in their dayes, happy. The  
poore

poore *Romans* had not changed the *Tyranny*, but the *Tyrants*. Yea they had three for one into the bargain. Such is the quality of us men; we know not our owne happinesse in the *fruition*, but the *want*. Two of these *Triumviri* glutted themselves with bloud, taking pride in hearing the lamentable cryes and groanes of the *people*. *AUGUSTUS* on the contrary shewed himselfe much grieved at this barbarous cruelty: so that his consent seemed rather forced than voluntary.

XV.

**T**His *Proscription* in it selfe, though cruell & tyrannicall, yet produced some good and profitable effects in the *Repub-licke*. For when by this *Proscription* and the ensuing *Civill warre*, the stoutest of the *Nobles* and *Commons* were made away; few beeing left which durst endeavor to recover the old *Liberty*: *AUGUSTVS* did the more easily establish his *Monarchy*, and restore

restore peace to the City. Moreover the prosecution of this cruelty so incensed the people against *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, that *Augustus*, whom most held excusable, found them alwayes his fast friends; if not for love to him, yet in spight to them. I cannot here omit the like effect springing from the like cause, in our *Rich. 3.* Who (though far enough from conceiving any such happy event) made riddance of so many in the then factious families: that leaving a Male in the one, and a female in the other, surviving;

this *Kingdome* by a marriage betweene them grew well settled, which might otherwise have beene againe indangered by some new competitors. So unsearchable are the judgments of *GOD*, and his wayes past finding out. But to proceed. *Antony & Augustus* leaving the guard of the City to *Lepidus*, and with joynt forces march against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, both overthrowne by *ANTONY*: whom therefore did *AVGVSTVS* put upon that service, as well to diminish *ANTONIS* forces; as to keepe his  
his



his owne, entire. As for himselfe, eyther he in policy suffered himselfe to be driven out of the field by BRUTVS, to make ANTONY more worke: or else indeed durst not abide the battell. Such end had BRUTVS and CASSIVS: Two men, whom Fortune seemed to be in love with on the suddain, and did as suddainly forsake them. BRUTVS the more accomplished man; CASSIVS the more expert soldier. (*A. V. C. 711.*)

**I** Passe over AVGVSTVS  
wars in *Italy*, ANTONIES in *Asia*: the discon-  
tents betweene them, and  
their reconciliation by the  
meanes of OCTAVIA, Si-  
ster to the one, and Wife  
to the other *Emperor*. As  
also how joyning forces  
together to oppresse Sex-  
tus, then Lording it over  
the Sea, and proud with  
the conquest of *Sicilia*:  
they received him into  
the *Confederacie*, and joy-  
ned

ned the Island of *Sardinia*, to his other conquests. To recompence which kindness, *Sextus* invited the two *Generals* aboard his *Admirall Galley*: and after a bountifull entertainment, return'd them safe to their *Campes*. I scarce have ever heard so great an oversight, among so many able Politicians. And much I marvell with my selfe, upon what confidence *Augustus* and *Anthony*, durst so far trust their persons to a reconciled Enemy: or on what reason *Sextus* having both of them in his power would let slip so slightly that ad-

advantage ; greater than which was never offered to a discontented and ambitious person. This I am sure of, that he afterward repented it ; and could have wished that hee had hearkened to the voyce of *MENAS* his old servant ; who had perswaded him to make his best of that opportunity. The Kings of *France* and *Arragon*, of old enemies made new friends, had the like interview at *Savona* : which that notable Historiographer , and States-man *GVICCIARDINE*, describeth with much wonder  
and

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and Commendation. Yet in the like case, have many, and as I thinke, worthily, condemned LEVVIS the II. and CHARLES of *Burgundy*, the Archpoliticians of those dayes: in that LEVVIS at *Peronne*, put himselfe into the hands of CHARLES his Enemy; who also after a short restraint, dismissed him.

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XVII.

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THESE solemne expressions of amity betwene

tweene the three *Generals*,  
being thus ended ; and  
*ANTONY* gone for *Egypt*:  
*AUGVSTVS* then began to  
contrive his establishment  
in the *State*, though with  
the ruine of his *Colleagues*.  
Hee beginneth first with  
*SEXTVS*, having by gifts  
and promises drawne *MENAS*  
unto his side, who by  
reason of his inwardnesse  
with his Master , knew  
most of his designs. By  
the directions of this *MENAS*,  
and the assistance of  
*LEPIDVS*, he quickly o-  
verthrew *SEXTVS*: who  
flying death in *Europe*,  
by the hand of *AUGVSTVS*:  
found

found it in *Asia*, by the command of ANTONY. After this victory, AUGUSTVS eyther having or pretending a quarrell against LEPIDVS; entreteth into his Campe, seisseth his person, and depriving him of all honours, confineth him to *Rome*. A man that halfe against his will, stumbling upon the Government; had beyond any desert of his, enjoyed ten yeares continuance of Empire and prosperity.

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## XVIII.

**A**UGUSTVS durst not have beene so venturous, if ANTONY had beene in *Italy*. He therefore advisedly removed him out of his way, before he would attempt this action. It hath beene ever a chiefe *Maxime* in *Court-policy*, to remove that man out of the way, under pretence of some honourable charge: whom we intend cyther to cast from his present honours ;  
or

or else to make lesse potent with *Prince* and *People*. For which cause did *AVGVSTVS* also perswade *ANTONIES* absence from the City ; to bring him at the last into discredit, and contempt. His dorage on *CLEOPATRA*, could not but draw him into many inconveniences. Neyther could his neglecting the *State*, to Ryot with his *Lemman* ; bee other than distastfull to the *Lords* and *People*. Next, he commanded his Sister *OCTAVIA*, to leave her Husband *ANTONIES* house, yet privately hee perswaded her  
to

to live there still, & bring up his children: that so the *Romans* seeing her noble demeanor and love to her Husband; might the more heartily detest him; who so ignobly and unkindly had rejected her. to adde more fuell to this flame of hatred, he leadeth ANTONIES will unto the people: in which many of the *Roman* Provinces were bequeathed to CLEOPATRAES children; and other things ordained to the common prejudice. ANTONY likewise preferred many Bills against *Augustus*; as that he had deposed

posed *Leptinus* from the *Triumvirate*; that he had divided *Italy*, amongst his own soldiers only; that he had not restored the ships, borrowed to make warre against *SEXTVS*.

XIX.

THESE discontents secōded with an ambitious hope of prevailing, made them both resolute to refer all to the decision of a Battell. *Antony* had a fleet consisting of 500. Ships, high built, and trimmed up rather for a Triumph, than

than a fight. His Land forces consisted of 100000. foot, and 12000. Horse. AVGVSTVS had the like number of Horsemen, 80000. foot, and 250. good *Men of Warre*, saug and close, built more for use than ostentation. The *Rendezvous* is *Actium*, a place seeming to be marked out for notable designs: Here being fought also in our fathers dayes, that famous battaile; wherein the *Venetians* gave the world to understand, that the *Turkes* forces by Sea, were not invincible. ANTONY was on the  
the

the Offensive side, and therefore much doubted whether it were better to give the Onset by Sea or by Land. CLEOPATRA whose words were *Oracles*, perswaded him to the Sea-fight: not that shee thought it more safe, but that if ANTONY lost the day, she might with more facility escape.

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XX.

---

TO this resolution, when most of the Captaines had for feare agreed;

greed; one of the old soldiers thus bluntly gainsayd it. "What a miserable security art thou possessed withall, most noble Emperor? Where is that ancient foresight, wherewith thou hast formerly prevented all disasters, and turned the enemies devises on their owne heads? Consider with thy selfe Noble Generall, what uncertaine friends the Wind and Sunne are? To how fickle an Element thou dost trust thy fortune. Let the Egyptians and Phœnicians old Mermaides, borne and



“nurst up in the Sea, fol-  
“low this kind of war-  
“fare. But let us thy true  
“*Roman* spirits, try our va-  
“lor on the firme land; &  
“there fight for thy *Empire*  
“and our owne *lives*. Per-  
“haps thou dost mistrust  
“our faith. Look here *An-*  
“*tony* (with that he opened  
“his bosome) & thou shalt  
“see many an hon<sup>bl</sup>. scar,  
“got in thy service. Wee  
“are now too old to learn  
“new treasons. Alter thy  
“resolution; & to please a  
“woman cast not away so  
many: certainly, the powers  
of heavē whē they decree  
a mans destruction over-  
throw those Coun-

Counsels by which hee should escape it. *ANTONY* turneth a deafe eare to this Souldiers wholsome advice: and borrowing frō *CLEOPATRA* two or three kisses, as if from the fountaine of her lips hee had derived all his courage; without any more ceremony, prepareth himselfe unto the battaile.

---

*XXI.*

---

**A***VGVSTVS* on the other side, seeing a necessity of a Sea-fight, was yet  
yet

yet in this comforted;  
that his Vessels were more  
useful and better manned,  
though fewer than his e-  
nemies. That his men to  
him were faithfull, and  
by reason of their many  
Victories, in good heart.  
But from ANTONY there  
daily revolted some Kings  
and Captaines of note, to  
the great encouragement  
of the one side, and dis-  
heartning of the other.  
The whole charge of the  
warre hee committed to  
M. VIPSANVS AGRIP-  
PA, who failing in no du-  
ty of a good Captaine,  
tooke from his Galleyes  
D what-

whatsoever might be impediments to the valiant, or shelter to the Cowardly; all that was combersome to his owne men, or advantagious to the enemy.

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XXII.

---

**T**Hings thus ordered; and the battaile ready to joyne, *AUGVSTVS CÆSAR* standing where hee might see and bee seene of all, is sayd to make this or  
“the like Oration. Fel-  
“lowes and Companions  
in

“in Armes, I suppose it  
‘needlesse, to hearten you,  
‘which never were ac-  
‘quainted with feare; or  
‘bid you overcome wch  
‘never yet knew what it  
‘was, not to vanquish.  
‘Conquest hath alwayes  
‘sate upon the edges of  
‘your swords, and victo-  
‘ry beene written in your  
‘fore-heads. Be not now  
‘backward to adde this  
‘one to your other try-  
‘umphs. When after the  
‘death of my father *Julius*,  
‘of famous memoty, I first  
‘dealt in matters of warre;  
I rather found, than made  
‘you good soldiers. And  
during D 2 this

“ this twelve yeares fer-  
“ vice under me, neyther  
“ have you beene wanting  
“ in the duty of faithfull  
“ followers; nor I (I hope)  
“ of a vigilant and grate-  
“ full Leader. Sure I am,  
“ I expressed my selfe as  
“ farr as I could; and  
“ more I would, had I  
“ beene able. Let not the  
“ number nor the great-  
“ nesse of the adverse  
“ Gallies, any way af-  
“ fright you. The huge-  
“ nesse of the Bulkes, ma-  
“ keth them unapt for im-  
“ ployment: and the mul-  
“ titude over-clogging &  
“ hindring the others; may

"as much further our  
 "victory as theirs. They  
 "exceed us in multitudes  
 "of *Men*; wee them in  
 "number of *Soldiers*. The  
 "meaning of the word  
 "*Pilot*, is unknowne a-  
 "mong them. And for  
 "their *Mariners*, the best  
 "of them are but *Carters*,  
 "*Reapers*, and *Haruestmen*,  
 "raked out of the field;  
 "the rest the excrement  
 "of common prisons:  
 "wherewith their *Vessels*  
 "are loaded, not manned.  
 "The *Generall* is indeed a  
 "fit *Captaine*, for such a  
 "selected company. It is  
 "the same *ANTONIE*



“whom you once drave  
“out of the Field before  
“*Mutina*. I perswade my  
“selfe, that neyther hee  
“dares thinke of recove-  
“ring, or you of losing,  
“your former glories. It is  
“the same *Antony* who be-  
“ing shamefully chased  
“out of *Parthia*; onely in  
“that he was not *vanqui-*  
“*shed*, proclaimed him-  
“selfe *Victor*. It is the  
“same ANTONY, who in-  
“tendeth to make *Rome*  
“subject to the *Egypti-*  
“*ans*; and to distribute  
“the *Provinces*, purcha-  
“sed with the bloud and  
“treasure of our *Ancestors*;  
amongst

‘amongst *Ir as*, and her fel-  
‘low Chamber maides.  
‘Nay indeed, it is not *An-*  
‘*tony* at all; but the sha-  
‘dow onely of that sub-  
‘stance, which now is hid  
‘in *Cleopatra's* Cabbin.  
‘Courage then brave men  
‘of Armes; Bee, as you  
‘have still beene, *Conque-*  
‘*rers*. To speake more,  
‘were to deteine you frō  
‘Victory. Onely this, call  
‘to minde your ancient  
‘valour. Remember that  
‘I am *CÆsar*, you *Ro-*  
‘*mans*. *XXIII.*

**T**His speech animated  
 the new Soldiers, and  
 confirmed the old: So  
 that with a generall accla-  
 mation, they give the as-  
 sault. Death, wounds, and  
 blowes dished in divers  
 fashions, and served in by  
 severall men, were the best  
 delicacies prepared for  
 these unwelcome visi-  
 tants. CLEOPATRA be-  
 holding the battaile, and  
 doubting the successe;  
 through the thickest of  
 AN-

ANTHONIE'S fleet, made away with the 60. Gallies appointed for her Guard. This disorder made the breach at which the victory entred. *Antony* seeing her flight, left his squadron also: and being taken into her Galley, hoysed sayle for *Egypt*. Here in playing the part of a cowardly Soldier; whilst each of his Soldiers executed the Office of a courageous Generall. For they so obstinately persisted in the fight, that *AVGVSTVS* was faine to offer them mercy sooner than they would demand

it; and divers time, before they would accept it. At last they all fware *Allegeance* unto him. (*An. F. C. 723.*)

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*XXIV.*

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**A**VGVSTRVS no loser of advantages, speedeth into *Egypt*; which he reduceth into the forme of a *Province*; making the people pay for fine 20. Millions of gold. By receiving this money he so weakned them, that they had no ability to raise an  
after

after warre; and by distributing part of it among his soldiers, he confirmed them in obedience. As for ANTONY he seeing his fortunes desperate, redeemed the honours lost in his life, by a noble and heroick death. And Cleopatra ended her life, also not long after; a woman more well favored than faire; well spoken, rather than either. Antonies Courtiers had scene many Ladies more lovely, none more prevailing; men being cheyned to her by the eares, rather then the eyes.

XXV.

**I** Willingly omit Av-  
 GVS TVS entry into  
*Rome*; as also the state and  
 Magnificence of his *Tri-  
 umph*. His victory he u-  
 sed so justly, that none  
 felt the fury of the warre,  
 but such as were slaine in  
 the *Battaile*. To assure  
 himselfe of *Antonies* ad-  
 herents, was his first care:  
 burning in the *Common-  
 Forum*; the Coffers of  
 ANTONIE, unopened;  
 wherein all his Letters  
 VXX from



from his friends in *Rome*,  
had beene inclosed. Well  
knowiug that as long as a-  
ny thought themselves  
suspected aduersaries, they  
would neuer shew them-  
selves true friends. To the  
*Senators* and *Magistrates*,  
he made sumptuous feasts.  
To the *Common-people*,  
hee exhibited magnificent  
and pleasing stage-playes:  
and with all varietie of  
pleasure banished from  
both, as well sorrow for  
the old *Proscription*, as  
feare of a new.

## XXVI.

**T**Here were two men  
most deare unto him,  
and privy to his Counsels;  
*MECENAS* and *AGRIP-  
PA*: which in the object  
of their love differed one-  
ly in this; *Mecenas* was a  
lover of *AUGUSTVS*; *A-  
grippa* of the *Emperor*. *Me-  
cenas* was of the ranke of  
*Knights*, a man of good  
and bad parts equally cō-  
pounded. When his busi-  
nesse required care, vigi-  
lant and circumspect; at  
lei-

leisure times, excessively  
vertuous. *Agrippa* was the  
first of his house, a man a-  
like fit for Campe and  
Counsell; one neither  
carelesse of a good name,  
nor covetous of a great.  
For although hee onely  
was the man, which van-  
quished *Sextus* and *Anto-  
ny*: yet well skilled in the  
humours of Princes, he  
gave *AVGVSTVS* the ho-  
nor of all his Conquests;  
making the vertue, not the  
reward, the end of his ac-  
tions. So by doing nobly,  
and speaking modestly of  
it, he was without envy,  
but not without glory.

## XXVII.

**W**ith these two Av-  
GVSTVS withdrew  
into a private Closet, and  
then brake unto them in  
this sort. Hee made first  
unto the a long discourse  
of the Civill warres. Then  
“added, That having by  
“his owne fortune, and  
“the valor of his soldiers,  
“put an end to the trou-  
“bles; he was unresolved  
“what to doe; Whether  
“to resigne the *Empire*,  
“to the *People*; or re-  
taine

‘taine it still in his owne  
‘owne hands.’ That in a  
‘busin<sup>esse</sup> of such impor-  
‘tance, he durst not relye  
‘altogether on his owne  
‘wisedome. That hee had  
‘made them his judges, as  
‘men that could speake  
‘soundly, and durst speake  
‘freely: That he knew the  
‘to haue more care of his  
‘honour, than profit; but  
‘of the *Common-wealth*,  
‘more than both: That  
‘his Counsels, which  
‘course soever he tooke,  
‘would not bee by them  
‘eliminated. Hee there-  
‘fore intreated them to  
‘consider what was to be  
done,

done, and to give up their  
vetdicts.

## XXVIII.

**A**GRIPPA after a  
short silence thus be-  
gan. I know thou canst  
not but marvell, O CÆ-  
SAR, that I, who under  
thine *Empire*, am sure to  
be beyond precedent ex-  
alted; should perswade  
thee to live private. I e-  
steeme more thy honor,  
than my profit; the pub-  
lique good, then my  
particular preferment.  
And

“And yet perhaps my  
‘Counsell shall be as pro-  
‘fitable, if not applausible  
‘as the contrary. I know  
‘thee to be no way deligh-  
‘ted with lyes & flattery;  
‘and will therefore deale  
‘with thee freely and  
‘plainly. Thou hast indeed  
‘put a period to the *Civill*  
‘*warres*; but to what end,  
‘unlesse thou dost restore  
‘unto the *Common-wealth*  
‘the liberty for which the  
‘wars were raised? What  
‘benefit can the people  
‘reape frō thy *Victory*, if  
thou dost use it only as an  
instrumēt for their greater  
‘bōdage? Dost thou think  
that the *Romans*



“ *Romans* having so many  
“ hundred yeares maintai-  
“ ned their liberty; will  
“ now be willing to fore-  
“ goe it? No CÆSAR, no.  
“ Flatter not thy selfe  
“ with these hopes. *Mari-*  
“ *us* the younger, and *Ser-*  
“ *torius*, were quickly cut  
“ off when their ends were  
“ once knowne; and I v-  
“ LIVS thy Father of hap-  
“ py Memory, did not  
“ long live, after his acti-  
“ ons seemed to bring the  
“ *Common-liberty* in ha-  
“ zard. And shall we think  
“ that there is no true *Ro-*  
“ *man* spirit surviving;  
“ No BRVTVS living, to  
attempt

“ attempt the like against  
“ thee? Believe mee CÆ-  
“ SAR, believe me, it is far  
“ better not to meddle  
“ with the *Empire* at all;  
“ than to bee forced to a-  
“ bandon it. But say, Di-  
“ vine Providence will so  
“ protect thee, that thou  
“ mayst out-live such pra-  
“ ctices; & shalt thou also  
“ not out-live thy glories?  
“ This present age per-  
“ chance will not censure  
“ their actions, because it  
“ dares not. But Posterity  
“ free from all respects of  
“ love or hatred, cannot  
“ but call them into que-  
“ stion; and brand thy en-  
ter-

“ enterprife with *ambiti-*  
“ *on*, and perhaps *Tyranny*.  
“ If thy *designes* prosper,  
“ they will judge thee to  
“ have risen unjustly ; if  
“ otherwise, to have *fa*lne  
“ deservedly. How much  
“ better then were it, now  
“ when thine honour is  
“ without blemish, and  
“ thy reputation unstai-  
“ ned ; to resigne thy au-  
“ thority ? Inded when  
“ *SEXTVS* lorded it over  
“ the Sea, and *ANTONY* o-  
“ ver *Egypt* ; it might  
“ have been thought want  
“ of spirit, to have depo-  
“ sed thy selfe from the  
“ Government. But now  
to

“to doe it, when thou art  
“without *Rivall*, in thy  
“*Empire* ; now, when  
“thou art sole *Com-*  
“*mander* of the worlds  
“forces ; now when the  
“*People* and *Senate* , lye  
“prostrate at the feet of thy  
“mercy ; were to strike  
“dumbe detraction, and  
“to make the world ad-  
“mire thy *Temper*.  
“Thou art at this present  
“the joy and comfort of  
“the world ; there is wan-  
“ting to thee neyther  
“wealth nor fame. Heere  
“then fix thy foot. For go  
“but one step beyond this  
“*Non ultra*, and thou wilt  
run into a bound.

“boundlesse Ocean of pe-  
 “rils, which have no end,  
 “but the end of thy life  
 “and reputation.

## XXIX.

“**N**ot so, excellent A-  
 GRIPPA, replied  
 “MECENAS. I never hard  
 “good *Pilot* finde fault  
 “with *Sea-rooms*; or of  
 “more Vessels cast away  
 “in the *Ocean*, than in the  
 “Streights and narrow  
 “passages. Our *Republicke*  
 “is a Ship, fraught with  
 “divers Nations: Shee  
 hath

“ hath beene long tost on  
“ the Waves of *Civill dis-*  
“ *sensions*, long driven up  
“ and downe with the  
“ Wind of ambition: and  
“ there is now no place  
“ so fit for her safety, as  
“ the unlimited *Ocean* of  
“ one mans power. This  
“ *Empire* at first rising, see-  
“ med not to require a  
“ *Monarch*; but it is now  
“ grown too unweedly, to  
“ be without one. Take  
“ then upon thee, O CÆ-  
“ *sar*, this Empire; or to  
“ say better, doe not for-  
“ sake it. I should never  
“ thus advise thee, did I  
“ conceive any possible  
E incon-

“inconueniences. The Se-  
“nate doth allow thee a  
“competent guard of va-  
“liant and faithfull soldi-  
“ers; whō then shouldest  
“thou feare? Nay ill may  
“I prosper, if I see any  
“cause of feare, were thy  
“Guard cashiered. Ene-  
“mies thou hast none. For  
“such as were, are either  
“already slaine by thy va-  
“lor, or made fast friends  
“by thy bounty and cle-  
“mency. To omit *Mari-*  
“~~us~~ and *Sertorius*, I will a  
“litle touch at thy Father  
“*Julius*. He too good a sol-  
“dier to be a *Statist*, was  
“too heady and violent in  
esta-



“ establishing his govern-  
“ ment. Nor could he cun-  
“ ningly temporize, and  
“ suffer the *people* insensi-  
“ bly, and by degrees, to  
“ drop into bondage; but  
“ oppressed thē all at once.  
“ Againe he committed a  
“ great *Solecisme* in *State*,  
“ when discharging his  
“ *Guard*, he sought to retain  
“ that *Emp.* by faire means,  
“ wch he had gottē by vio-  
“ lence. I know thee O *Ca-*  
“ *sar*, to be of a more wary  
“ and cunning behaviour.  
“ Learn also to worke out  
“ thine owne safety, by  
“ *POMPEY'S* misfortunes.  
“ Hee after the finishing

“ of the *Ponticke warre*,  
“ at *Brundisium*, disbanded  
“ his Army : and thereby  
“ merited to bee accoun-  
“ ted an honest and mode-  
“ rate man. Certainly; he  
“ shewed himselfe in the  
“ course of this action, ra-  
“ ther vertuous than for-  
“ tunate and politicke.  
“ For presently he began  
“ to be contemned, and by  
“ this improvident weak-  
“ ning of himselfe, made  
“ an open passage to his  
“ owne ruine. I commend  
“ his modesty more than  
“ his braine; Neyther did  
“ hee himselfe on better  
“ considerations, approve  
his

“his owne doings; and  
“therefore hee resolved,  
“had he beene Victor in  
“*Pharsalia*, never to have  
“committed the like O-  
“versight. So is it, and so  
“will fall out with thee,  
“O CÆSAR, if in this acti-  
“on thou propose him  
“to be thy Patterne. It is  
“not safe *AGRIPPA* saith,  
“to take the *Empire*:  
“lesse safe is it to refuse  
“it. A settled & innative  
“vice it is in man, never  
“to endure that any man  
“above our owne rancke,  
“should overtop us. *Romes*  
“second founder *Camil-*  
“*lus*, *Scipio*, that scourge  
E 3 of

“ of *Carthage*, were disgra-  
“ ced; and *M. Coriolanus* ba-  
“ nished by our Ancestors:  
“ only because their worth  
“ had lifted them above the  
“ ordinary pitch of sub-  
“ jects. Doe not thou hope  
“ to fare better than thy  
“ Predecessors. Heretofore  
“ perchance, thou mightest  
“ have sought the *Empire*,  
“ to satisfie thy *ambition*.  
“ The *Empire* must now  
“ be thy refuge and *Asy-*  
“ *lum*. Credit me, the *Lords*  
“ of the *Senate*, after so  
“ many yeares obedience,  
“ know not how to go-  
“ verne: neither canst thou,  
“ having so long beene a  
Gover-

‘ Governor , learne Obedi-  
‘ ence. Truth is, in matters  
‘ of domesticalt businesse,  
‘ a man may stop and desist  
‘ where he will. But in the  
‘ getting of an *Empire*, there  
‘ is no meane between the  
‘ death of an *Enemy*, and  
‘ the life of a *Prince*. Thou  
‘ hast already gone too  
‘ farre to retire. Now thou  
‘ must resolve to be CÆ-  
‘ SAR or nothing. To say  
‘ more were superfluous.  
‘ Thine owne discretion  
‘ will suggest unto thee,  
‘ better Arguments. Onc-  
‘ ly this, I know that thou  
‘ hast in thee too much *Is-*  
‘ *lius*, not to governe.

## XXX.

**A**VGVSTVS, seemed to incline to this latter opinion; whether moved with M<sup>E</sup>CENAS Oration, especially his instance in POMPEY; or that he was before resolved to follow that course, is uncertaine. Howsoever, seeming with great attention to observe their speeches, and gathering their severall reasons and motives together, he made this Reply. A most  
“hard thing it is, for a di-  
vided

“ vided minde, to make a  
“ well-joyn’d answer. Di-  
“ vided I am, and troubled  
“ between your two opi-  
“ nions ; loath to follow  
“ eyther, sithence in so  
“ doing I must offend one.  
“ Yet sithence there is a  
“ necessity of Resolution;  
“ I intend, though I like  
“ well of thine advice, A-  
“ GRIPPA ; to follow  
“ thine MECENAS. In  
“ doing which , I am but  
“ an instrument of the  
“ *Destinies*, to put their  
“ will in execution. Often  
“ have I heard my Father  
“ OCTAVIUS report, how  
“ *Nigidius*, famous for his  
E s skill



“ skill in *Iudiciary Astro-*  
“ *logie*, told him once in o-  
“ pen *Senate*, That he had  
“ gotten an Emperor for  
“ the *Romans*. As also, how  
“ *M. Cicero*, so reuowned  
“ for wit and eloquence,  
“ dreamed that he saw *Ju-*  
“ piter place me on the top  
“ of the *Capitol*, with a  
“ Whip in mine hand.  
“ Certainly, if the powers  
“ of Heaven promise me  
“ so great an *Empire*; I  
“ will not bee wanting to  
“ my selfe: but will adde  
“ by my *wisdome*, to their  
“ *influence*. To further my  
“ designs, I doe desire  
“ you; nay I conjure you  
both :

“ both: that as you have  
“ been ever ready in your  
“ Counsels; so you would  
“ not now be backward,  
“ in any necessary assistance. This said, they  
presently enter into a new  
conference, how to manage a  
business of this weight; what  
Senators to acquaint with their  
intent; how to dispose of the  
Army, not yet cashiered; with  
what Plummer were best to  
sound the minds of the common  
people.

## XXXI.

**T**His Consultation ended, AUGUSTVS continued his affability to the *People*, and respect to the *Nobles*. An opportunity he had to expresse himselfe to both. There was at that time a Famine, which shrewdly raged among the *Commens*. To the poorer sort, hee distributed Corne, *Gratis*; to others, at a meane price. Riches and honours he communicated to both sorts; the bet-

better to wipe out of their memories, the ancient *freedom*. Such parts of the *Citty*, as were destroyed by casualty of fire, ruined by length of time, or defaced during the *Civill-warres*; he re-edified. Houses of *Common-assemblies* he repaired; Temples consecrated to the Gods, he spared no cost, to adorne and beautifie. And finally so freely diffused his bounty, that there was no part or member of the *Citty*, which had not some taste of it. Next, he dismissed his soldiers, assigning them Lands and habi-

habitations in divers parts of *Italy*. That so the *Lords* of the *State*, might conceive his *Resignation* to be real; and yet if need were, his forces might bee quickly reassembled. Nor were *AGRIPPA* and *MECENAS*. wanting for their parts, to promote the cause: but carefully acquainted some of the *Senate* with it, who stood well affected to them; and cunningly prepared others.

XXXII.

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THE foundation thus  
layd, and the *Senate*  
sate, *AVGVSVS* rose frō  
his seat, and spake to this  
or the like effect. When  
“I consider with my  
“selfe, the infinite extent  
“of the *Roman* Empire;  
“I protest I stand at a  
“maze: Marvailing how  
“such, as heretofore  
“have rayseed combusti-  
“ons in State, durst un-  
“dertake the sole admini-  
“stratiō of it. What Natiō  
in

“in the world, hath not  
“eyther begged their  
“Peace at our Gates; or  
“felt the fury of our wars  
“at their owne? What  
“Countries have not wee  
“harried with fire and  
“sword, making the rising  
“and setting of the Sun, the  
“bounds of our Domini-  
“ons. It must questionlesse  
“proceed from an over-  
“weaning conceit in the,  
“of their owne abilities;  
“who thought themselves  
“so fit to undergoe that  
“burden, which none but  
“the immortall Gods can  
“carry. Of my selfe I will  
“not say much. Onely I  
am



‘ am not inferiour to Cin-  
‘ na, nor it may be, to Syl-  
‘ la. Yet have I found in my  
‘ selfe, by late experience,  
‘ how unable I was to ma-  
‘ nage the affaires of State;  
‘ even then when I had  
‘ two *Coadjutors*. There  
‘ is no *Atlas* of strength  
‘ sufficient to beare up this  
‘ *Heaven*: No *Starre* of  
‘ influence sufficient to a-  
‘ nimate this *Spheare*; No  
‘ one forme of vertue suf-  
‘ ficient to actuate this  
‘ *matter*. Neyther indeed is  
‘ it fit, that the *Republique*  
‘ w<sup>ch</sup> ought to be immor-  
‘ tall, should depend only  
‘ on the life and well-fare  
‘ of

“ of one man. There never  
“ was, since the beginning  
“ of time, a City repleni-  
“ shed with greater store  
“ of worrhy and able  
“ men; cyther to consult  
“ or execute. Never was  
“ there scene so grave and  
“ discreet a *Consistory*. Ne-  
“ ver so many of both  
“ sorts, so fit to governe.  
“ I have by your Directi-  
“ ons, and the valor of  
“ your soldiers, put an end  
“ to al homebred quarrels.  
I have beene your instru-  
“ ment, to reduce peace in-  
“ ternall and externall, to  
“ your City : and desire  
“ now no other Guerdon

‘ or recompence for any  
‘ former services, than a  
‘ quiet and a private life;  
‘ free from all such dan-  
‘ gers and inconveniences,  
‘ as are inseparably annex-  
‘ ed to the *Principalitie*.  
‘ Now therefore, and may  
‘ my action bee auspicious  
‘ and fortunate to my  
‘ Country, doe I resigne  
‘ my authority: commit-  
‘ ting my selfe, and the  
‘ *Commonwealth*, into the  
‘ hands of the *Senate* and  
‘ *people of Rome*.

## XXXIII.

**T**His Oration ended, there followed a soft and silent buzzing in the house. Some supposed this speech, not to have so much truth, as art and cunning, yet smothered their conceits, for feare of after-claps. Others were Creatures of his owne making, and they hoping to *rise* in the *fall* of theyr Country, would not heare of a Resignation. Some few of the wiser sort

fort, thought it not expedient, to put the Reines againe into the hands of the *Multitude*. The rest out of a sluggish and phlegmaticke Constitution, chose rather the present estate with security; than to strive to recover the old, with danger. All therefore with a joynt consent proclaime him sole *Emperor*: and solemnely intreat him to save the *Commonwealth*, otherwise running to inevitable ruine. He for a while, as vainely denyed to accept the Government, as they vainely persisted to desire him. At last,

last, wearied with the clamours of all in generall; and importance of some in particular; he by little and little yeelded to their requests, taking upon him the *Empire* for ten yeares, with this Proviso, that if before that time expired, hee could fully settle & order the present State, hee would give up his charge. (*An. V. C. 725.*) This hee gave out, not with a purpose of performance. (For at the end of every *Decennium* hee renewed his lease of the Regiment:) But that the people seeing a nigh possibility

sibility of regaining their *Liberties*, might not practise against him. Whereas, had hee for tearme of life, received the supream authoritie; hee had no doubt hastened his owne overthrow.

XXXIV.

**N**Ot the title of *Dictator*, but the Epithite, *Perpetuall*; was the destruction of *CÆsar*; Yet also great respect was to be had in the choyce of the title. The name of *King*  
he



he refused, as beeing odious to the *Citizens*. Neyther would he be called *Romulus*, though he much desired it; lest they should suppose that he did affect the *Tyranny*. When the people called him *Dictator*, he rent his Garments, desiring them to discharge him of a name so hated: and being once called Lord, (*Dominus*) hee forbade also that title by publique Edict. *Princeps Senatus* was the onely title he admitted. Well knowing, that the like glorious attributes were heaped on his Father *Ivlivs*, by them

them which least loved him; onely to this end, that growing more and more into hatred, hee might the sooner bee dispatched. Nor was he ignorant, that the *Common-people* led more by appearances, than truth; discerned names more plainly than executions: and that the onely course to make greatnesse stand firmly, was to receive extraordinary Iurisdiction, under a Title not offensive. The name also of *AVGVSTVS*, put upon him by the *Senate*, as if there had beene something in  
F him

him more than mortall,  
he denyed not : as a title  
expressing more dignity  
and reverence, than au-  
thority.

## XXXV.

**V**hen first at the  
hands of the *Lords*  
of the *Senate*, he had for  
10. yeares received the  
Government ; there was  
appointed unto him two  
*Cohorts* of *Prætorian Soldi-*  
*ers*, for the guard of his  
person; to whō the *Senate*  
allowed the double wages  
of

of a *Legionary* souldier, to make them the more vigilant and heedfull in their charge. Over these, he appointed two Prefects or Governors, (Captaines of the Guard, wee may best tearme them.) To commit the charge to one onely, might breed danger; to more, confusiō. *Agrippina*, to settle *Nero* in the Empire, prevailed with *Calpurnius*, to make *Burrus*, whom she had at her devotiōs, the sole Captain: and *Nymphidius*, faine from his hopes of setting *Galba* besides the quishiō, desired the cōmā of the Gard as the next step

to the Sovereignty. In  
 choice of these Captaines,  
 he observed two Rules.  
 First, he ever chose them,  
*Ex ordine Equeſtri*, not  
*Senatorio*; lest that so  
 high a dignity, joyned to  
 so high a Birth, might  
 startle their resolutions to  
 some designs against his  
 quiet. Secondly, he made  
 choice of two each, which  
 were of contrary humors,  
 and somewhat at oddes:  
 That so the ill intents of  
 one (if they should har-  
 bour any) might be thwar-  
 ted and revealed by the o-  
 ther; and both in a noble  
 emulation should con-  
 tend

tend, to be most forward  
 in his service. The next  
 course which he took for his  
 owne security, was a law  
 he made to curbe the ve-  
 ry wills and attempts of  
 the *great ones*. For where  
 as it had beene formerly  
 unlawfull, to question a  
*Bondman*, in matters con-  
 cerning the life and death  
 of his *Lord*: *AUGUSTVS*  
 passed an Act, that all such  
*Bondmen* should bee first  
 sold to him, or the *Com-  
 mon-wealth*. By meanes  
 wherof he kept the *Lords*,  
 before presuming on the  
 secrecie of their *Slaves*;  
 from all close and private



Conspiracies against him.

XXXVI.

**H**AVING thus streng-  
 thened his person, he  
 assumed to himselfe the  
*Imperiall, Censoriall, and*  
*Tribunitian* authority to-  
 gether with the *Sacerdotall*  
 dignity. As *Emperor* and  
*Generall* of the men of  
 Warre, hee could presse  
 Soldiers, raise Taxes, pro-  
 claime wars, make peace;  
 yea and put to death the  
 very best and stoutest of  
 the *Senators*: as *Censor*, it  
 was



was in his power, to reforme corrupt manners, inquire after mens carriage, to take in and put out of the *Senate*, whom he listed; to place and displace the people from an honorable tribe to a lesse honorable. Yet would he not be called *Censor*, as a name too inferiour: but accepted the *Prerogative*. After the surrendry of *MANVTIVS* and his associate; two men so unfit for that *Magistracie*, that they could object no crime to old or young, of which themselves were not guilty. The

*Tribunitian authority*, enabled hinder any thing attempted against his liking: It preserved his person from all contumely and injury; Giving him leave to punish as an execrable person, yea and without any formality of law; whosoever had offended him eyther in word or deed. As for the *Pontificiall Dignity*, it made him a little more revered, not more potent. Onely it added to his title, the stile of *Pontifex Maximus*; or *Chiefe Bishop*; and made him of authority amongst the Priests, and in sacred mat-

matters, things that concerned *Religion*. The light of *Reason* taught him, that it was convenient for him, being a *Prince*, to have command on all his people. He had beene else but halfe a *Monarch*. Such as some *Princes* are with us, who quit their *Clergy* to be governed by a *foreign head*. These severall *Privileges* annexed together, seemed not yet sufficient: and therefore he so cunningly dealt with the *Senators* that they gave him a generall *Exemption* from the *Coactive power* of the law. Which once

effected; he seriously and totally bendeth his Studies to settle the *Commonwealth*.

## XXXVII.

**T**O what *Republique* hee should conforme the *Roman*, was his next care. The forme described by *Plato*, rather sheweth how a Citty ought to be, than how it may be governed. *Aristotle* bred in the *free State* of *Greece*, was no friend to *Monarchies*: and therefore no fit  
In-

Instructor. *Solon* afforded the people, too much authority, the Nobles, too little; the King, none. The old *Carthaginian* Legislator attributed too much to Riches; too little to vertue. The *Persian* Law-makers allotted to the King too much, and nothing to the Subjects, *Zaleuchus* was rather an Author of some particular Lawes, than the framer of a *Republique*: *Phalaus* and *Hippodamus* was as unimitable as *Plato*. *Lacedamon* onely, and her *Lycurgus*, were found fittest for his purpose. For  
*Lycur-*

**LYCVRGVS**: a man of a deepe reach; and brought up under the most able *Politicians* of all *Crete*, well understanding that the unmixt forme of Rule was mutable, and by consequence pernicious: framed his *Spartan Commonwealth*, out of the perfections of the three good formes: their imperfections rejected. Reserving to the *King*, absolute Majesty; to the *Nobles*, convenient authority; to the *People* entire *Liberty*; all in a just and equall proportion. **AVGVSTVS**: as hee neglected the peculiar  
Cu-



Customes of that State,  
Community of Women,  
Equality of Possessions,  
and the like; So in the  
maine *Platforme*, hee was  
a diligent follower of his  
Constitutions. So mixing  
the *Soveraignty* of one;  
with the *Liberty* of all;  
that both the Lords and  
people without feare of  
bondage or sedition, en-  
joyed their hereditary  
freedome. The *Consuls* and  
*Nobles* of the Citty assem-  
bled, as formerly they u-  
sed; Matters of *State*, they  
handled by themselves:  
*Ambassadors* of forreine  
Nations, they heard and dis-



dispatched. The *Commons* assembled in the *Comitia*, to enact Lawes, and elect Magistrates; as in the *free Common-wealth*. Yet so that nothing was done without the consent and privity of the *Prince*; who for the most part, nominated the successive Magistrate: leaving the confirmation of him to that *people*. So that the change, as hee contrived it, was not violent and at once, but by degrees, and by the silent approbation of both the Estates: as seeming to

con-

consist more in the alteration of the *Magistrate*, than of the *Laws*.

XXXVIII.

**B**Ut to proceed particularly : the first care he tooke, was to confirme *Religion* in the same state he found it. I meane *Religion* as the *ROMANS* used the word, for those particular though idolatrous formes of *Worship*; which to their severall *GODS* had beene used among them. This, though hee might have changed

changed, as the *Pontifex Maximus*, or chiefe Bishop of the *Citty*; yet very wisely he forbare it; It is not safe for Princes that are settled in a long descent of *Government*, to be too active in such changes; But it is dangerous to attempt it in a *Greene State*, and in an *Empire* not well quietted, & inured to bondage: Men are more sensible of the smallest mutations in the Church, than greater changes in the State, and raise more frequent troubles about it. The *Romans* specially were exceeding tender in this point. The  
ancient

ancient *Aediles* formerly received it into their charge, that they permitted no externall, eyther *Gods* or *Ceremonies*, to bee introduced into the City. And by *ÆMILIVS* it was enacted for a Law, *That none should offer sacrifice in any publike place, after a new and forraine fashion.* Excellent therefore was the counsell that *Mænas* gave him, when hee first undertooke the *Em-*  
“*pire.* That hee should  
“follow constantly the  
“*Religion*, which he found  
“established, and compell  
“others also to doe the  
like :

“ like: For forreigne and  
“ strange rites ( sayth he )  
“ will offend the people,  
“ worke many inconve-  
“ nient alterations in the  
“ State, yea and most like-  
“ ly will occasion many  
“ both seditions and con-  
“ spiracies: Words which  
“ he spake not to the ayre,  
“ but to a Prince excee-  
ding apprehensive of the  
best advice; Nor did AV-  
GVSTVS ever shew him-  
selfe more carefull in any  
one *Arca* of the Empire;  
than in this. That which  
MECENAS noted, we find  
true in these later Ages, in  
times more skilfull of o-  
bedience,

bedience, than the most quiet houre of AVGVSTVS Gouvernment. No one thing more hath caused so frequent, and so generall *Rebellions* in the States of *Christendome*, than alterations of this Nature; I cannot therefore but commend it, as a pious *Resolution*, in a late mighty *Monarch*. Better some few corruptions should be suffered in a Church, than that a change.

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*XXXIX.*

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**R**eligion thus established; In the next place the wellfare of the whole *Empire*, consisted chiefly in reforming of the *Citty*; From which as from the heart, life was conveyed to all the *Provinces*: And in the *Citty* the corruption was most apparant, in the *Senate*. With them therefore he beginneth, well knowing that crimes in men of eminent place end not in themselves:



selves : but by degrees become diffused among their Clyents and followers. Now in the *Senate* were many and desertlesse men, who had been taken into the *Consistorie* during the Civill wars : as they could court the people, and humor such as were most potent. Of these he expelled none by his own power : but making a speech to them in the *Senate*, of the ancient order and present Confusion of the house ; he first exhorted them to looke backe on their former lives, and to judge of their owne ability.

bilities and merits, for so honourable a roome. Then he desired some of them to picke out such among them, as were in disposition *factions*, and in life *faulty*, but loath to conceive so ill of their owne actions; Which they did accordingly. Yet as it often happeneth, that *the great Thiefe leadeth all the rest to the Gallows*; and as *Commynes* observeth, that after the Battell of *Monthillery*, Officies were taken from many for flying away, and conferred on such as ran ten Miles be-

beyond them : So remained many in the Senate, neyther lesse vicious, nor lesse violent; onely more potent to maintaine their doings, than some others whom they had removed. AVGVSTVS therefore joyning to him AGRIPPA, proceedeth to a new review. And certainly, it much concerned him in the settling of his affaires, that none should have a voyce in that famous Councell, but such as were of able judgments, honest repute, and

and well affected to the  
the Prince. An enter-  
prise which hee esteemed  
so dangerous, that permit-  
ted entrance to no *Senator*  
till he were searched; him-  
selfe wearing a *Brigandine*  
under his *Gowne*; and  
being enuironned with 10  
of the most couragious &  
best beloved of the whole  
company. Such as hee  
found in eyther kind inex-  
cusable, he discharged frō  
their attendance; electing  
such into their places,  
which were eyther enno-  
bled for their wisdome,  
of noted moderation, and  
strong in their dependants.

Yet

Yet so that greatnesse of *Revenne*, was esteemed neither a fit *Patronage* for any if they were offensive; nor a just cause to challenge interest in the *house*. Those of them which were rich rather in the gifts of the minde, than fortune; he relieved with honourable *Pensions*: and finally he bestirred himselfe so resolutely, that all confessed that they had need of such a wise *Physitian*, to cure that dull *Consumption*, whereinto the *Commonwealth* was falne.

XL.

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**I**N other things he seldom did proceed against them as of himselfe: But when that any of them had conspired his Ruine, he referred them to the Iudgement of their fellowes. And this hee did partly to reserve unto the Court, the ancient Prerogative; partly, not to be Iudge and party in his owne cause: but principally following the example of his father IVLIVS, who counter-



terfeiting a wretchlesse  
contempt of his adversa-  
ries, used when he was  
least suspected, under-hand  
and by publike Officers  
to worke their destructi-  
on. Many also of them,  
whom the *Senate* had con-  
demned, he would freely  
pardon. Conceiving tru-  
ly, that the questioning of  
me of high calling, would  
produce as much terrour;  
though it argued not so  
much rigor as the punish-  
ment. Yet if extremity of  
Law was used towards  
some few, it was to settle  
quietnesse in the whole;  
and as it were a particular



blood-letting for the generall health. Those who had followed the factions of **BRVTVS** and **ANTHONY**, he forgave freely. And not so onely, but by manifesting his words by his deeds, and adding trust and honours to his pardons: he made his Chayre of State more settled, and immoveable. So **CÆSAR** by erecting the fallen and broken Images of **POMPEY**, made his owne statues stand more firmly.

XLI.

**B**Vt the chiefe Act by which he brideled the Nobles, was an Edict by him promulgated, forbidding any of them, his leave not granted, to travell out of *Italy*. For well he knew that in an Empire unsetled, and Provinces not quieted, the presence and authority of men of that ranke, might rayse greater troubles, than could be easily suppressed. Examples he wanted

not; that especially of *Ca-*  
*to*, who after the over-  
throw of *Pompey*, stirred  
such a warre against *Cesar*  
in *Affricke*: that he ne-  
ver bought Victory at a  
dearer rate. Yet not alto-  
gether to imprison them,  
he licensed them at their  
pleasure to visite *Sicilia*,  
and *Gaul Narbonoyse*: Pro-  
vinces close to the conti-  
nent of *Italy*, altogether  
unfurnished for warres;  
and indeed such, as by rea-  
son of the variety of plea-  
sures in them used, were  
more likely to weaken  
their minds, than to arme  
their bodies.

XLII.

**N**OW to give the Senate some sweet meat, to their sowre sawce ; he as much honoured and revered the *Order*, as ever it was in the *free-state* : submitting himselfe to their Iudgements ; and appearing of his owne accord , at most of theyr dayes of Session. Out of those he chose 15. alterable every halfe yere, to be of his privy Councell, but the chāging the for others

that so all of them might participate that honour ; and yet none of them bee acquainted with too many of his secrets. At his entrance into the *Senate*, he used courteously to salute the *Lords* ; and so likewise at his departure. Hee knew full well that it was noted for great pride in his father *Ivlivs*, so much to sleight the *Lords* of that *House*, as he alwayes did : never making to them any obedience, no nor then, when they came to tel him what honors were decreed unto him.

X L III.

**T**His Reformation of the *great Ones*, soone made the *lower sort* more carefull; both to observe good order, and to learne obedience. Yet did not **AVGVSTVS** referre all to *President*; but somewhat to *Precept*. The *Roman Knights* he enforced to yeeld an account of their lives: an Ordinance full of health: Idlenesse being the root of all private vices, and publike

disorders. To the *Commons* in their *Comitia* and other meetings, he prescribeth Lawes and Orders as himselfe listed. The old authority of the *Tribunes*, dashed in the *Dictatorship* of *SYLLA*, he would not restore. He suffered them to intercede for the *people*, but not to preferre or hinder any *Bill* to the advancement or the prejudice of the *Third estate*. Without this *Curbe*, the *Common sort* would never quietly have suffered him to sit fast in the *Saddle*. For had the *people*



ple had their *Tribunes*, and had the *Tribunes* had their ancient dignity and power, which they had usurped: there had beene little or no hope, of altering the forme of Government: So different are the ends of the *Common-people*, especially if nuzled in a factious Liberty; from the designs of soveraigne *Princes*.

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## XLIV.

**T**He City thus reformed in the principall errors and defects of it; he againe exhibiteth unto them divers pleasures: As Shewes of Fencers, Stage-playes, Combates of wilde beasts, publique dancings, with variety of other delightfull spectacles. And this as well to breed in them a good conceit of the change; as fearing lest their cogitations, for want of other objects, would

would fixe themselves upon his actions, and the old *freedome*. Horse-races, Tilts, and Tournaments, he gladly cherished; but he permitted them only to the Inhabitants of *Rome*: That so that City being the Seat-Towne of his Empire, might be stored with good *Horses*, and expert Riders. Such of the *Commons* as were behind hand, he relieved: and when that any of them had made him Heyre to their goods; hee well knowing that no good Father did appoint to his Heyre any *Prince*, but a

*Tyrant*, presently restored to the Children of the deceased, the whole Patrimony. An action truly worthy of *AUGVSTVS*; as true a *Guardian* of *Orphanes*, as a Father of his *Country*. Such Princes as gape covetously after other mens possessions, scidome enjoy the benefit of their owne. The treasures of Kings are then greatest, not when their own *Coffers* are full onely, but their subjects rich.

XLV.

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**Y**ET one thing more he seemed to leave unto the people, which they thought most pleasing; Liberty of speech. Wherein sometimes they were so licentious, that they spared not **AGRIPPA** himselfe, so potent with the Emperour. But hee good man, never using the Princes favour to the prejudice of any, seemed not to marke their taunts

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taunts and slanders: whether with greater moderation or wisdom, I cannot tell. Neyther did AVGVSTVS scape their foolish *Pasquils* and infamous *Libels*. All which he winked at, knowing, that Contumelies of that Nature, slighted & contēned, soone vanish of themselves: but if repined and stormed at, they seeme to be acknowledged. A temper which he learnt of his Father IVLIVS, who was perfect at it. And certainly it was a notable poynt of wisdom in both of them. It is the misery of the

the best *Princes*, even when they doe well, to be ill spoken of. And therefore many times such follyes, are with more policy dissembled than observed, by the greatest *Kings*.

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XLVI.

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**A**S for this Lavishnesse of the *tongue*, it is an humour that springeth for the most part, rather from a delight in prattling, than any malice of the heart : and they which  
use



use it are more trouble-  
some than dangerous.  
IULIVS feared not the *fat*  
*men*, but the *lean* and  
*spare*. And so AVGV-  
STVS thought, that not  
men liberall of speech,  
but silent, close, and  
sparing of their words,  
were most likely to rayse  
tumults. Moreover, as  
long as the *Common-peo-  
ple* retained *Liberty of  
speech*, they were the lesse  
sensible of the losse of  
*Liberty in State*. Where-  
as in the dayes of DOMI-  
TIAN, when not onely  
they were prohibited to  
commune together, but  
even

even their secret sighes  
and teares were *Registred*;  
then began they to looke  
with a serious eye, backe  
on the old and *Common*  
*Liberty*: *Neglect* is the best  
remedy for this *Talking*  
*veine*. When the hu-  
mour is spent, the *People*  
will cease on their owne  
accords: till then, no for-  
ces can compell them. *Ta-*  
*citus* taxeth *Vitellius* of  
great folly, for hoping by  
force to hinder the conti-  
nuall reports of *Vespations*  
revolt; that being the on-  
ly way to increase, not di-  
minish the *rumor*. And as  
much he extolleth (I will  
not

not say how fitly the  
Reigne of *Prince NERVA*;  
wherein it was lawfull for  
the Subject to thinke what  
hee would, and speake  
what he thought.

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*XLVII.*

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**T**Hese courses though  
he tooke to rectifie  
the Senate, and content  
the people, yet he stayed  
not here. There were too  
many of both sorts, dan-  
gerous and unquiet spi-  
rits, who stomacked his  
proceedings: and under  
the

the pretence of the *ancient Liberty*, were apt to any bold attempt, and so-daine alteration. These as he winked at for the present, so he imployed them as occasion served, in his forreine warres. Wherein he followed the example of his father IULIUS, who when his soldiers had displeased him, in their *Mutinies* and tumults; would lead them presently unto some desperate and dangerous service. So weakning both his *foes*, which lay next unto him, and punishing those *Soldiers* which had  
diso-

disobeyed him. For though AVGVSTVS had thrice shut the Temple of ~~Janus~~; and cherished peace, no Emperor more, of so large a Territory: Yet when he saw his times, and that mens minds were active, and their thoughts disquieted; he could find presently occasion for some new employment. In this a *body politique*, may be compared most fitly, to the *body Naturall*. when we are full of bloud, and our spirits boyling, there is not any *Physicke* better than *Phlebotomie*. But if a  
vceyne

veyne be broken in us,  
and we bleed inwardly;  
our estate commonly is  
dangerous, and almost in-  
cureable. So *Princes*,  
when their people are ru-  
multuous, and apt to mis-  
chiefe; or that their  
thoughts are working,  
and hearkening after acti-  
on; doe commonly im-  
ploy them in some ser-  
vice farre from home;  
that there they may both  
vent their *Anger*, and  
employ their *Courage*.  
For let them stay at  
home, to confirme  
their practises, and  
grow at last into faction:  
the

the State will suffer in it ;  
if it be not ruined. We  
cannot have a fairer in-  
stance of this truth than  
the proceeding of the 5.  
HENRY, and of the  
times next following.  
Whose forreine warres  
kept us all quiet here at  
home ; wasted those hu-  
mours , and consumed  
those fiery spirits : which  
afterwards , the warres  
being ended, inflamed the  
Kingdome.



## XLVIII.

**T**He Soldiers some of them he dispersed as before I sayd, all about Italy, in 32. Colonies: as well for the defence of the Country, as for their more speedy reassembly, if need should require. Abroad amongst the Provinces, were maintained upon the common charge, 23. Legions with theyr aydes, besides 10000. of his Guard, and those which were appointed for

H the

the bridling and the safety of the Citty. As to all of them he shewed an excellent thankfulness, for their faithfull services: So in particular, to *AGRIPPA*, and to one other, whose name the Histories of that age have not remembred. This latter had valiantly behaved himselfe at the battell of *Actium*: and being summoned to appeare before the *Lords* of the *Senate* in a matter which concerned his life, cryed to *AVGVSTVS* for succour; who assigned him an Advocate. The poore fellow

low not contented with this favour, baring his breast, and shewing him the markes of many wounds; These (quoth he) have I received, AVGVSTVS, in thy service, never supplying my place by a Deputy. Which sayd, the *Emperor* descending to the *Barre*, pleaded the Souldiers cause, and wonne it. Never did Sovereigne *Prince*, or any that command in *Cheefe*, lose any thing, by being bountifull of favors to theyr men of war. For this act quickly spreading

ding it selfe over all the *Provinces*, did so indeere him to the military men; that they all thought their services well recompenced, in that his graciousnesse to that one man.

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X LIX.

---

**A**N D now were they so farre given over to him, that the honours conferred on *AGRIPPA*, could not increase their love; well it might their admiration. *AGRIPPA* was of a meane  
and

and common *Parentage*, but supplying the defects of his *Birth*, with the perfections of his *minde*; he became very potent with *AUGUSTVS*, who not onely made him *Consull*, but his companion in the *Tribunitian authority*, and *Provoſt of the Citie*. So many titles were now heaped on him, that *MECENAS* perſwaded the *Prince*, to give him his Daughter *IULIA* to wife; affirming it impossible for *AGRIPPA* to live ſafe, conſidering how open new *Creatures* lye to the attempts of *Malicious men*; un-

lesse he were ingrafted in-  
to the royall Stemme of  
the *CÆSARS*. On which  
cause questionlesse, for  
the stronger establish-  
ment of his new honours;  
*SEIANVS* afterward at-  
tempted, but not with  
like successe, the like  
match, with *LIVIA*,  
*TIBERIUS* Daughter in  
Law.

**T**He *Senate, People, and Men of Warre*, thus severally reduced to a Mediocrity of power and content: The next labor is to alter the old, and establish a new government of the *Citty* it selfe. To effect which, hee dashed all former Lawes, by which the *Allyes and Confederates of the State*, were made free *Denizens* of the *Towne*. That hee conceived to be a way, to



draw the whole *Empire* into one *City*; and by the monstrous groweth and increase of this, to make poore the rest. Therefore this *Priviledge* he communicated unto a few onely : partly that in the times of dearth, the *Citty* might not so much feeble the want of sustenance; and partly that so ancient an honour might not be disesteemed; but principally lest *Rome* replenished with so huge a multitude of stirring and unruly spirits, should grow too headstrong to be governed in due order.

The

The greatest and most populous Cities, as they are proneſt unto *ſaction* and *ſedition*; ſo is the danger greateſt, both in it ſelfe, and the example, if they ſhould revolt.

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L I.

---

**T**His provident courſe notwithstanding, there were in *Rome* men more than enough; and among them not a few malecontents, and murmurers at the preſent ſtate; ſuch as contemned the *Conſuls*,

and hated the *Prince*. To keepe these in compasse, AVGVSTVS, it being impossible for him to be still resident at *Rome*, and dangerous. to bee absent; constituted a *Provost of the Citie*, for the most part chosen out of the *Senators*: assigning him a strength of 6000. men, called *Milites Urbani*, or the City Souldiers. To him he gave absolute and Royall authority, both in the *Towne* and Territory neare adjoyning, during his owne absence. To him were appeales brought from the *Magistrates*: and finally  
to

to his *Tribunal* were referred, all causes of importance, not in *Rome* onely; but the greatest part of *Italy*. *Mesalla* was the first *Provost*, but prooffe being had of his insufficiency, the charge was committed to *AGRIPPA*: who did not onely settle and confirme the *City*; but speedily freed *Italy* from *Theeves*, and *Robbers*, and stopped the courses of many other troublers of the *State*.

## LII.

**I**T is recorded that in the Civill warres of MARIVS and SYLLA, one PONTIVS VELESINVS of the MARIAN Faction, told his Generall, that he did well to scoure the Country; but *Italy* would never want Wolves, as long as *Rome* was so fit a Forrest, and so neare to retyre unto. The like might have beene spoken to AGRIPPA; That he did well, to cleare the Com-

man Rodes and passages:  
but Italy would never  
want Theeves, whilst Rome  
was so good a place of Re-  
fuge. For though he did,  
as farre as humane indu-  
stry could extend, endea-  
vour a generall Reforma-  
tion, both within the Ci-  
ty and without: yet ney-  
ther could he remedy nor  
foresee all mischiefes.  
Still were there many and  
those great disorders, cō-  
mitted in the night sea-  
son; when as no eye, but  
that to which no darke-  
nesse is an obstacle, could  
discerne the Malefactors.  
For in the first *Proscriptiō*,  
many

many men used to walke  
the Streets well weapo-  
ned; pretending onely  
their owne safety. In-  
deed it was to make their  
best advantage of such  
men, as they met eyther  
in unfrequented Lanes  
and passages; or travel-  
ling, as their occasions  
did direct them in the  
Night.



LIII.

**T**O repress therefore  
the foule insolencies  
of these *Sword-men*, AV-  
GVSTVS did ordaine a  
*Watch* consisting of 7000.  
*Freemen*: their *Captaine*  
beeing a *Gentleman*. of  
ROME. In the day  
time, the *Guard* of the  
*Towne* was committed to  
the *Provost* and his *Citie*  
Sol-

*Soldiers* : These *Vigiles* resting in their standing *Campes*. In the Night season , one part tooke their *stations* in the most suspicious places of the *City* : another, in perpetual motion traversed the *Streets*, the rest lying in the *Corps du Garde*, to relieve their companions. By which meanes, he not onely remedied the present disorders , but preserved the *City* from danger of fire also , Yea and secured himselfe from all night tumults, which carry with them (though but small ) more terror and affright-

affrightment ; than greater  
Commotions in the day.  
Never till now were the  
*Common people* Masters  
of their owne, both lives  
and substance. And now  
was travell in the night,  
as safe ; though not so  
pleasant as at Noone.

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LIV.

---

THE *People* and *Cittie*  
thus settled, his next  
study is to keepe the *Pro-*  
*vinces* in a liking of the  
Change. But little *Rheto-*  
*rique* needed to win their  
li-

liking, who had long desired the present forme of *Government* : mistrusting the peoples Regiment, by reason of *Noblemens* factions, Covetousnesse of *Magistrates* ; the *Lawes* affording no security, being swayed hither and thither by ambition and corruption. These *Provinces*, when he first reid the *Government* , he thus divided. *Asia, Africa, Numidia, Betica, Narbonensis, Sicilia, Corsica, Sardinia*, all *Greece, Crete, Cyprus, Pontus*, and *Bythia*, being quiet and peaceable *Provinces*, of knowne  
and

and faithfull obedience; he assigned unto the *Senate*. But the new conquered Regions, such as had not digested their losse of liberty, with whō any rebellion or warre, was to be feared, he retayned under his owne command. Such were *Tarracensis*, *Lusitanica*, *Lugdunensis*, *Germany*, *Belgica*, *Aquitanica*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Aegypt*, *Dalmatia*, *Mysia*, *Pannonia*, &c. This hee did as hee gave out, to sustaine the danger himselfe alone, leaving to the *Senate*, the sweete at theyr ease:  
but

but the truth was, to keep them without armes, himselfe alwayes strong and in a readinesse. Questionlesse the *Casarean Provinces*, growing so strong; and perceiving the *Consular* so weake: assumed to themselves the creating, and establishing the future *Princes*. *Galba* was made Emperour by the *Spanish* and *French* Legions; *Vitellius*, by the *German*; *Vespasian* by the *Syrian* and *Pannonian*: The *Consular Provinces* never stirring, eyther to prevent their attempts, or to revenge them.



L V.

**T**Hese *Provinces*, the better to manage the affaires of the *Empire*, he had peculiarly specified in his *Register*, what *Tributes* they payed, what *Presents* they sent in, what *Customes* in them were le-  
vyed. That booke also cōprehended, the wealth of the publike *Treasury*, and necessary charge issuing out of it: What number of *Citizens* and *Allies*, there were in *Armes*;  
What



What strength there was by *Sea*, with all other circumstances concerning the extent, strength, riches; and particulars of his *Estate*. *William* of *Normandy* did the like, at his first entrance into *England*: when he composed that *Censuall Roll* of all this Kingdome; which we call *Doomes-day Booke*, or the *Roll of Winton*: according unto which, *Taxations* were imposed, and *Aydes* exacted. The greatest *Princes* have not thought it a disparagement to be good *Husbands*; to know the riches

ches of their Crownes;  
and have an eye to theyr  
*Intrado.*

L V I.

**B***ritaine* was left out of  
this *Bead-roll*, eyther  
because from hence there  
neyther was much hope  
of profit, nor much feare  
of hurt: or else because,  
being more desirous to  
keepe than inlarge the Mo-  
narchy; he thought it most  
expedient to confine it  
within the boũds appoin-  
ted by Nature. *Dannbius,*  
on

on the North; Mount *Atlas* on the South; *Euphrates*, on the East; & the maine *Ocean* on the West: did bound his *Empire* and defend it. Some *Kingdomes* have their limits layd out by Nature: and those which have adventured to extend them further, have found it fatall. The *Persians* never did attempt to stretch their *Territory* beyond *Oxus*, but they miscarried in the action. And what was that poore *River*, if compared unto the *Ocean*:

LVII.

**M**Any who loved ac-  
 cession, or expected  
 preferment by the Wars,  
 incited him unto the con-  
 quest and plantation of  
 these Countries. Affir-  
 ming that the barbarous  
 people were naturally  
 bad neighbors, & though  
 for the present not very  
 strong nor well skilled  
 in Armes; yet might a  
 weake Enemy in time  
 gather great strength:  
 That he ought to pursue  
 I the

‘ the warre, for his Father  
‘ *Julius* sake, who first  
‘ shewed that Iland to the  
‘ *Romans*: that it yeelded  
‘ both refuge and supply  
‘ to the Malecontents of  
‘ *France*, and enemies in  
‘ *Germany*: That he would  
‘ lose the benefit of a weal-  
‘ thy *Country*, stored with  
‘ all manner of provision;  
‘ and the command of a  
‘ valiant Nation, borne as  
‘ it were unto the warres.  
‘ That it was an Apostacy  
‘ from honor, to lye still  
‘ and adde nothing to the  
‘ conquest of his an-  
‘ cestors: that he was in alle-  
‘ quity bound as farre as  
in

‘ in him was, to reduce to  
‘ *Civility*, from *Barbraisme*  
‘ so many proper and a-  
‘ ble men.

L VIII.

**T**O these motives *Aug-*  
*ustus* replied, That  
‘ he had already refused to  
‘ wage warre with the *Par-*  
‘ *thian*; a more dangerous  
‘ neighbour, and far worse  
‘ enemy than the *Britaines*.  
‘ That he had waft and de-  
‘ sert ground enough, in his  
‘ own *dominions* for many  
‘ a large *Plantation*; when  
I 2 he



' he saw it needfull; that  
 ' he had constantly refu-  
 ' sed, though with great fa-  
 ' cility he might, to con-  
 ' quer any more of the  
 ' *barbarous Nations*: That  
 ' as in the *Naturall body*, a  
 ' surfeit is more dange-  
 ' rous thā fasting; So in the  
 ' *body Politique* too much is  
 more troublesome than a  
 little. That the *Roman Mo-*  
*narchy*, had already excee-  
 ded the *Persian & Macedo-*  
*nia*: & to extend it further,  
 was the next way to make  
 it totter and fall by its  
 own weight: that he had  
 ' learned in the *Fable*, not  
 ' to lose the *substance*, by  
 on s i cat-



‘ catching the *Shadow* :  
‘ That many puissant Na-  
‘ tions lay in, and about  
‘ *Britany*, against whom  
‘ *Garrisons* must be kept ;  
‘ and he feared the *Revenue*  
would not quit the *Cost*.

LIX.

FOR the assurance of the  
*Provinces* already con-  
quered, he dispersed into  
them 23. *Legions* with  
their *Aydes* : whose pay  
onely, besides provision  
of *Corne* and *Officers* wa-  
ges ; amounted to five

‘ he saw it needfull; that  
‘ he had constantly refused, though with great facility he might, to conquer any more of the *barbarous Nations*: That  
‘ as in the *Naturall body*, a  
‘ surfeit is more dangerous thā fasting; So in the  
‘ *body Politique* too much is more troublesome than a little. That the *Roman Monarchy*, had already exceeded the *Persian & Macedonian*: & to extend it further, was the next way to make it totter and fall by its owne weight: that he had  
‘ learned in the *Fable*, not  
‘ to lose the *substance*, by  
ed s l cat-

‘ catching the *shadow* :  
‘ That many puissant Na-  
‘ tions lay in, and about  
‘ *Britany*, against whom  
‘ *Garrisons* must be kept ;  
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LIX.

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ges ; amounted to five

I 3

Mil-

Millions and an halfe of our *English* pounds, and somewhat more, were so sodainly payd unto the *Armies*, that we read seldom in the Histories of that *Empire*, of any *Mutinie* amongst the *Soldiers* for want of pay. An happinesse whereof these ages have beene little guilty. For the amassing of his treasure, and defraying of this charge; *AVGVSTVS* made not use onely of his owne revenue. *Warres* which are undertaken, and *Soldiers* that are levied for the *Common safety*; ought in all reason to be maintained on the *Common-*

purse. Grandour and security of an *Empire*, concerns in all respects, as much the people as the *Prince*. For which cause, he erected an *Exchequer* in the *City*, which was called *Aerarium militare*, or the *Soldiers Treasury*, whereto the xx. part of every mans estate, was brought; according to the true and perfect valuation. This was esteemed an heavy burden at the first, and indeed it was: but that the people felt the sweetness & effects of it, in the common safety. In that respect, the interest was

greater than the *principall*.  
*Subiects* that have a care ei-  
ther of the common  
peace or honour; will not  
repine at payments and  
taxations, though more  
thā ordinary. It is a poore  
conceit to thinke that  
*Princes* eyther are able or  
obliged, to maintaine the  
warres without assistance  
from their people: or that  
the treasures, which in  
these respects they give  
the *King*; they doe not  
give unto themselves. I  
may perhaps repute him  
for a cunning *Sophister*,  
but never for a faithfull  
Subject; which coynes  
di-

distinctions betwixt the  
welfare of the *King*, and  
the weale of the *King-*  
*dome*.

LX.

**T**Hese Legions he em-  
ployed as occasion  
was, eyther to curb the  
*Natives*, or secure the *Ban-*  
*dens*. The *Roman Empire*  
seldome had such perfect  
peace but th it there were  
employments alwayes for  
the *souldiers*. It was they  
had in any place a short  
Cessation from the wars,



yet they were not idle. Idlenesse doubtlesse is the greatest enemy to *Martiall Discipline*. Therefore he kept them at such times perpetually busied : eyther in paving *Bogges*, or in dreaning *Marishes*. By meanes whereof, he made not onely many of the *barbarous Countries*, both fruitfull in themselves, and profitable to the *Chequer* : but thereby also he secured his owne affaires, and disarmed his enemies. For many times the *Barbarous people* trusting to such advantages ; were apt too often to rebell :  
and

and having got themselves within those *Myres* and *Fastnesses*, stood on their *Guard*; as in some fashionable or defensible *Fortresse*. The surest meanes to keepe a conquered people, from all occasion of revolting, is to lay waste their *Wood-lands*, and make all parts *passable*. The opportunity of a safe retreat, makes not more *Theeves*, than *Rebels*.

and having got themselves  
 within the **LXX** dayes and  
 fastness, stood on the  
 Guard; as in some later  
 example or desirable for

**T**Hose whom he placed  
 over his *Provinces* and  
*Armies*: hee neyther  
 would remove under 3.  
 yeares government; nor  
 yet continue after five.  
 A longer stay might teach  
 them too much of the na-  
 ture of the people; and  
 perhaps prompt them, to  
 worke into the favour of  
 the Natives, and the men  
 of warre; and so at last to  
 establish in themselves a  
*Soveraignty.* *Casars* long  
 stay

stay in Gaul, ( a second 5. yeares being added unto that, which was first allowed him ; ) made him so potent with the people, and gracious with the Soldiers ; that in the end hee brought the *Romã Empire* under his subjection. And on the other side, to take them from their charges, under 3. yeares continuance, were to have called them home, before they were well learned in the *Customes* and the nature of the *Provinces* : so making them unable, to instruct their *Successors*. As for the men whom he

employ-

imployed in those *Com-  
mands*; he called them al-  
wayes out of the most  
valiant and upright, in  
*Campe*, and *Senate*. A *Prince*  
more willing and desirous  
not to imploy men likely  
to offend; than after the  
offence to punish and cha-  
stise them.

---

*LXII.*

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**B**ESIDES his forces by  
Land, he also maintai-  
ned at Sea two *invincible*  
*Armadoes*. The one lay at  
Anchor neare *Ravenna*,  
in the up Sea, to awe and  
defend

defend *Dalmatia, Crete,*  
*Greece, Cyprae, Asia, &c.*  
The other at *Misenum,*  
in the lower Sea, to pro-  
tect and keepe under  
*France, Spaine, Africa,*  
*Egypt, Syria, &c.* Ney-  
ther was this the onely  
use of two such puissant  
*Fleets.* But in all probabili-  
ty, they were to cleafe the  
Sea of *Pyrates*; to have a  
care to the conducting of  
the *Tributes & Customs* in-  
to the *Exchequer*: and ser-  
ved also for transporting  
*Corn,* and other neces-  
sary provisions, for the  
sustenance, and reliefe of  
the *Citty.* In the ensuing  
Ci-

*Civill warres*, these two Navies proved to bee of great importance: The revolt of them giving as great a blow to the one side, as a comfort to the other. The principall assurance of *Otho* in the wars, was the immoveable fidelity of the *Misenian* Fleet: and the siding of th'other with *Vespasian*, brake the hearts of *Vitellius* best followers.

**LXIII.**



LXIII.

**A**VGVSVS as hee strengthened the *Provinces* in generall, so did he cast an especiall eye on 3. particulars : viz. *Italy*, *France*, and *Aegypt*. *Italy* rounded *Rome* the *Metropolis* of the *Empire*; and therefore he ought to be well assured, of its good faith and allegiance to him. Nor was he ignorant, that the *Bellum Sociale* raised by the people of that *Country* in the free-  
State,

*State*, more shooke and endangered the *Empire*; than the *Invasions* of *Pyrrhus*, or *Anniball*. Therefore as formerly he planted in it 31. *Colonies*, of old and trusty soldiers, to keepe it sure unto himselfe: So now he did divide it into eleven *Regions*; each having peculiar *Magistrates*, and under *Officers*. This not so much to ease the *Citty Prator*, although hee had employment enough at *Rome*: but because it was thicke set and as it were overlayd with *People*, whose rising might endanger the *Commonwealth*.

wealth. So by his Colonies he kept a Garrison upon them as it were, that they could not revolt : and by his Officers and Justiciars (as I may call them) he set so strait a Watch about them ; that they durst not practise.

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LXIV.

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**F**Raunce, then called Gaul, was both a large and fertile Country : stored with a people, valiant in all attempts, and in many

many desperate. A people with which the old *Romans* fought rather to maintaine their owne liberry, than to increase their Dominions. A people whose *Progenitors* had sacked the *Citie*; and finally with whom the *Romans* durst not make warre, till they had almost all the residue of the world in subjection. Remembrance of their ancient Reputation, and store of money might occasion many desperate practises against the quiet of the *Empire*. The readiest

est way to keepe them in *Obedience*, was to keepe them poore, for without wealth, high *Stomacks* may well feed on the hope of *Liberty*, but digest it never. *Licinins* his freed-man, was the fittest fellow for such an Office: who is presently made the *Taske-master* of the *Province*. The *French* used to pay a Monthly Tribute, which he much inhaunced (besides private and petty meanes of prevailing) by making foure-teene Moneths in a yeare. The *French* Solicitors at *Rome* make complaint to

Av-

**AVGVSTVS.** He sometimes yeilded unto them, sometimes excused his *Freed-man*; some things hee would not know, many he would not believe; others he dissembled. **LICINIUS** to make up his peace, sent to the Emperour all his *treasure*, and that huge Masse of gold and silver by those unlawfull meanes, heaped up together; which hee not onely willingly received, but his turne being served and the *French* not a little impoverished; he recalled *Licinias*, and sent *Tiberias* to settle the *Province*. So  
old



old and common a thing  
it is with great *Princes*, to  
suffer their *Vice-Roys*, and  
*Vnder-Officers*, to sucke  
like *Sponges*, the *Wealth* of  
the *Subiect*, till they are  
quite full; and then o  
*Squeeze* them into their  
owne *Coffers*.

LXV.

**B**Vt the *Province* whose  
tuition and defence he  
principally regarded, was  
*Egypt*: not so much for  
the valour and animositie  
of the *Inhabitants* as the na-  
turall strength & scituatiō  
of



of the place. *Alexander* of *Macedon* having annexed it to his *Empire*, never committed the entire government and Jurisdiction thereof to one man: fearing least he presuming on the wealth of the *People*, and site of the *Country*, would settle the possession in himselfe. And so *AUGUSTVS* calling to minde aswell the multitude, as the levity and inconstancie of the *Natives*; that it was very rich in coyne, and the *Roman Granary*, (as serving the *Citty* foure Moneths yearely with *Corne*) not onely

onely trusted not the rule thereof into the hands of any of the *Senators*, but expressly forbad any of that order, without his especial permission, to sojourne there. It is a principle in *State*, never to licence mē of great houses, and credit among the *people*, to have free access into that *Coun-try*, whose revolt may endanger the whole *Empire*. Wherefore it was a weaknesse doubtlesse, in the Councell of K. *Henry* of that name the 6. to suffer *Rich. D. of Yorke*, to passe at pleasure into *Ireland*; where he had harbour and  
K                      reliefe,

reliefe, and whence hee brought supply both of *men* and *money*. But to return to *Egypt*, *Germanicus* entring once into *Alexandria*, onely to see the *Antiquities* of it, and returne; stirred such suspicions & distractions in the jealous head of *Tiberius*, that hee spared not sharply to rebuke him for it. *Vespasian* also being by the *Syrian Legions* chosen Emperor, first assured himselfe of *Egypt*; as the key of the Sea and land, with a small power against a strōg host, easily defended. This place he resolved to make  
his

his *Sanctuary*, if his designs succeeded not luckily. And to this place hee hastened, after the defeat of the *Vitellian* army: that so detaining the ordinary provision of victuals; hee might by famine compell the City of *Rome* to stand at his *devotiō*. The government of this *Province* was by *Augustus* alwaies committed to some one of the *Romane* Gentry; as lesse able, by reason of his low fortunes, to worke against the *Princes* safety neyther would he allow his *substitute* the glorious attributes of *Lieutenant*, *Legatus*

*Vice-Roy, or Proprator. Cap-  
taine or President of Egypt,*  
was their highest Title;  
their being even in *Titles*  
no small motives to *Am-  
bition.*

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*LXVI.*

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**A***vgustus* having by  
these meanes reduced  
both the *Citty* and *Provin-  
ces*, under his absolute cō-  
mand : and being now de-  
clining in strength, by rea-  
son of a sodaine & violent  
sicknesse ; began to call  
his wits to Councel, how  
to dispose of the *Estate* af-  
ter

ter his decease. *Male-child* he never had any. His Daughter *Julia* a woman of immodest carriage, never made further use of her Fathers greatnesse, than that she satisfied her lusts with the grater insolence. *Marcellus* his Sisters sonne, and *Julias* husband was a young man of an ingenuous disposition; and seemingly capable of the fortunes which attended for him. Him being yet young, *Augustus* preferred to the *Pontificiall* dignity, and *Ædileship*; yet once upon his sicknes, he privately determined,

to choose a successor in the *Common-wealth*, rather than his owne family : & not to leave the Empire, unto *Marcellus*, whom he held unable to undergoe it ; But to his companion in armes, *Agrippa*, a man daunted neither with adverse, nor altered with prosperous fortunes.

LXVII.

This *Marcellus* afterwards so stomacked, that hee beganne to grutch at *Agrippas* greatnes ; and to beare a vigilant eye on his plots and actions. Contrary *Agrippa* unwilling to offend



offend him, under whose future government hee was in all likelyhood to end the rest of his daies; with much adoe obteyned leave to retire unto *Lesbos*; that so his absence eyther might allay, or remove the displeasure, conceived against him by the young *Prince*. An action full of wisdom & magnanimity. For though *Augustus* cheef end was, to discountenance the popular dependencies of his *sonne*, by the favours heaped upon his servant: Yet did *Agrippa* know, that a Favorite ought to have so much

in him of the *Persian Religion*; as to worship the *Rising Sunne*, and that hee should resemble old *Ianus* with the two faces; with th'one looking on the *King Regnant*; with th'other, on the *Prince successive*.

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*LXVIII.*

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**M***arcellus* being de ad, *Agrippa* returning married his Widdow; and on her begat two sonnes, *Caius* and *Lucius*, whose actions afterward afforded such variety for censure, that

that there was wanting neither much reason to commend, nor little to reprove them. On these two, or at the least one of them, *Augustus* now grown aged, resolves to settle the estate, and if they failed, upon such others, as by the liberty of the Lawes, he might adopt: *Adoption*; in the estimation of the *Roman* Lawes, being indeed an other nature. Posterity whether it be natural, or onely legall, is the best supporter of the *Armes Imperiall*, Such as both fortifies the Prince,

K 5 and

and assures the subject. Yet  
this he did not without  
much reluctancy & a great  
cōflict in his mind. Some-  
times his thoughts sug-  
gested to him, that the de-  
signed *Successors* draw to  
them all the attendance,  
and respect, from the  
*Prince in possession*: that  
they have alwaies a lin-  
gring desire, to be actual-  
ly seated in the *Throne*:  
That they suppose the  
life of the present *Prince*,  
too tedious; not caring  
by what means it were  
shortned: That sometime  
it is pernicious, yea e-  
ven to the appointed  
Successor himselfe also.

On the other side, his better thoughts prompted him to consider, in what a  
‘miserable distraction he  
‘should leave the *Empire*;  
‘if sodaine death should  
‘take from him an ability  
‘to nominate his heyre:  
‘The feare conceived in  
‘the whole *City*, at his last  
‘sicknes: that *Pyrrhus* of  
‘*Epirus*, was of all hands  
‘condemned, for leaving  
‘his *Kingdome* to the shar-  
‘pest sword; That the *Com-*  
‘*mō-wealth* fallne into dis-  
‘sentions, could not be set-  
‘led againe without a la-  
‘mēttable war, & a bloudy  
victory: That the people  
seeing him

‘ him and *childish*, would  
‘ not only contemne him,  
‘ but perhaps, endeavor to  
‘ recover the old *liberty*;  
‘ though with the ruine of  
‘ the *State* : That it was  
‘ the custome of *Tyrants*,  
‘ to desire the eternizing  
‘ of their deaths, by the  
downfall of their *Countries*.

## LXIX.

**H**is minde thus distra-  
cted and perplexed,  
at last he brake, in this mā-  
ner. ‘ Thou hast *Octavian*  
‘ a Wolfe by the eares ;  
‘ which to hold still, or to  
let

‘let goe, is alike dange-  
‘rous. Many inconveni-  
‘ences may ensue, if thou  
‘dost not declare thy *Suc-*  
‘*cessor* ; More, if thou  
‘dost. The good of the  
‘*Republique*, consisteth in  
knowing the future *Prince*  
‘Thine owne welfare de-  
‘pendeth on the *conceale-*  
‘*ment*. The *Common good*  
‘is to be preferred before  
‘any *private* ; Yet ought  
‘*Charity to begin at home*.  
No, *Octavian* no ; As thou  
hast receiv’d, so shew thy  
selfe worthy of, the title  
of *Pater Patria*. Yea, and  
‘perhaps this designation  
‘may secure thine owne



‘Estate. For what will it  
‘profit the people, to  
‘contest with thee when  
‘they shall see a successor  
‘at hand, eyther of thine  
owne body, or thine own  
‘appointment, ready to  
‘take thy place, and re-  
‘venge thy *wrongs*?

## LXX.

**T**Hus resolved, he a-  
dopteth *Caius* and  
*Lucius*; desiring, though  
he made shew to the con-  
trary, they should be *Con-*  
*suls Elect*, and called  
*Princes of the Youth*. Yet  
wisely fore-casting the  
dan-

gers incident to himselfe, if they should make their abode in *Rome*; he sendeth them with honourable charge, into the Provinces abroad: as well to exercise them in *seates* of *Warre*, as to take away all cause of faction in the Court, and sedition in the *Citty*. Which *mystery* of *State* as it was anciently practised by most *Princes*, so at this day by the *Grand Seigneur*: who alwayes sendeth his eldest sonne unto *Amasia*, as Governour thereof; from whence, till the death of his Father, he never returneth.

In

In these journeyes dyed  
the 2. young *Princes*, a mis-  
hap which *Augustus* bare  
Nobly: neither banishing  
griefe, with a *Stoicall* *Apa-  
thy*; nor spending the  
time in womanish lamen-  
tations. having performed  
due rights to the dead, he  
adopted his Wives sonne  
*Tiberius*: A man for the  
conveniency and ripenes  
of his age, not *unfit*, in  
feates of *Armes* not *unex-  
pert*, in humane learning  
not ignorant: but with-  
all suspected to be cruelly  
given, and possessed with  
the hereditary pride of  
the *Claudian* family: A  
strong

strong medley of vertuous and vicious qualities. *Tiberius* such was the will of his Father, to establish the succession, with more stayes than one, adopted *Germanicus*, his brother *Drusus* sonne; Then commanding over 8. Legions in *Germany*, which done, he speedeth to his charge in *Illyricum*: This man, *Augustus* appointed to be his heyre, as it was afterwards, & not improbability conjectured: neither in care to the State, nor in love to the party: but to win honour to himselfe, and to make the *Roman*

*man people*, againe wish  
for him; whē they should  
see that infinite dispro-  
portion in all royall and  
Kingly qualities, between  
the old and new *Emperors*.  
A fetch after imitated by  
*Tiberius*, in the adoption  
of *Caius Caligula*.

## LXXI.

**T**He last ( though not  
the least ) helpe of the  
*Empires* establishment ;  
was the long life and  
reigne of our *Augustus* :  
as having ruled the State  
16.yeares before, and 44.  
yeares after his confirma-  
tion, in the *Soveraignty* ;  
by

by the *Senate* and people,  
All the young men in the  
*City*, were borne after the  
first *Decennium*, of the *Mo-*  
*narchy*. Most of the old  
men during the *Civill*  
wars. Few had scene what  
was the ancient *Forme* of  
*Government*; in the free  
*Commonwealth*; Many did  
not desire it. For at the  
present, enjoying peace  
both at home & abroad, &  
hearing what sad & tragi-  
call reports their fathers  
made of the former trou-  
bles and *proscriptions*: they  
cōtented themselves with  
the new government; as  
more esteeming a secure  
and

and happy *subiection*, than  
a dangerous and factious  
*liberty*. By which long  
time of *Empire*, and the  
policies already recited,  
besides many others,  
which I can neither learne  
by *Relations*, nor gather  
by presumptions; did  
*Augustus* so firmly settle  
the *Roman Monarchy*: that  
it continued many hun-  
dreds of yeares, immove-  
able & vnaltered; though  
all his immediate succes-  
sors were in a manner  
Monsters, incarnate di-  
vels, and indeed any thing  
rather than men. *Tiberius*,  
*Caius*, *Claudius*, *Nero*, *Galba*  
*Otho*,



*Otho*, and *Vitellius*, both by their owne *Tyrannies*, and their Bondmens extortion, would haue ruined any *Monarchy*, not founded by *Augustus*.

LXXII.

TO speake concerning the domestical affaires of this *Emperor*, is beyond my *Theme*. As either how farre he suffered himselfe to bee ordered, by his Wife *Livia*, or whether hee used variety of women, not so much to satisfie a disordinate appetite, as

as by so many women to  
fish out the secret de-  
signes of many men. Hee  
was too exact a States-  
man to be perfect in *Sol-  
diery* : and in all his wars,  
was prosperous by for-  
tune rather than by valor,  
or his *Captaines* valour,  
than his owne. The *Com-  
mon-wealth* which hee  
found weake and in *Rub-  
bish* ; he left *Adamantine*,  
and invincible. In behavi-  
our he was affable, and  
gracious ; in his discourse  
sentencious : to the good,  
of a most sweet dispositi-  
on ; to the lewd and dis-  
honest, harsh and unplea-  
sant.

sant, *Friendship* he contracted with few, and that slowly ; but to them, whom hee once loved, constant and bountifull to the last. Finally such a one he was, of whom I will only say what I find spoken of *Severus*. It had beene an ineffable benefit to the *Commonwealth* of *Rome*, if eyther he had never dyed, or never beene borne.

FINIS.

Novemb. 5. 1631.

**P**ERlegi hunc Tractatum  
cui titulus est (An Essay  
of the Meanes and Coun-  
sailes) Vnâ cum Epistolâ  
Dedicatoriâ ad Thomam  
Levet. Ar. qui quidem liber  
continet folia 64. in quibus  
nihil reperio, bonis moribus  
aut sana Doctrina contra-  
rium, quo minus cum utili-  
tate imprimatur, modo intra  
septem Menses proxime se-  
quentes typis mandetur.

GVILIEL. HAYVVOOD;  
Epis. Lond. Cap.  
domest.

21417

